

William John Schweickert, Jr.
 Carroll Thomas Sciance
 Eric Harry Seagren
 Richard Francis Sette
 Donald Eugene Sexton
 Billy Jack Shepherd
 George Leo Shevlin, Jr.
 James Gerard Shields
 Richard Samuel Shumway
 Edward Gresham Sills
 Gerald W. Silver
 Denis LeRoy Simmons
 Kenneth Eugene Simmons
 Andrew Robertson Simpson
 William Carroll Simpson
 James Lister Skinner
 Stephen McLean Slattery
 Anthony Stephen Slovacek
 Sam Taylor Smathers
 Peter John Smilikis
 Don Allen Smith
 Irving Benedict Smith
 James Charles Smith
 Stewart Edward Smith
 William Henry Smith
 Jerry Patrick Soderberg
 Myron Bernard Sokolowski
 James Lewis Sowell
 Joel Charles Spaeth
 William Herbert Spain, Jr.
 Raymond Fasho Spigarelli
 Michael Francis Spigelmirre
 William Allan Spin
 Joseph Franklin Spitz
 Allen Peterjohn Splite
 Raymond Anthony Spunzo
 Donald Leigh State
 Gordon Stewart Steadman
 Marion Archibald Steele, Jr.
 Robert Jules Steffen
 Kenneth Edward Steppe
 William Lamson Stockman III
 Gerald Benton Stofer
 Rayburn Clifton Stovall
 William Mitchell Strother
 Carl Albert Strunk
 Leonard Stanley Strzelecki
 Walter Beynon Sturek
 William Frederick Sturm
 Barney Alan Sugg
 Anthony Dwyer Sullivan
 James Arnold Sullivan, Jr.
 Richard Parker Sullivan
 Robert Charles Swedberg
 Richard David Sweeney
 Homer George Taggart
 Roger Jerome Tancreti, Jr.
 Frank Andrew Tapparo
 Harry Inett Taylor
 Hurl Richmond Taylor, Jr.
 James Franklin Thacker
 Tommy Lennard Thorne
 William Furman Thornton
 James Doc Thurman
 Joseph Leo Tierney
 Clifford Richard Tillman
 Henry Young Tillman, III
 Felix Alberto Torres, Jr.
 Ronald Alan Tourgee
 Eugene Otto Trautmann
 John Peter Trombino, Jr.
 Robert Symons Troth
 dePaul Richard Trunk
 Richard Wesley Tuxill
 David Harold Tyre
 Richard Lee Tyson
 James Girard Unger
 Raymond Charles Valentine
 Gordon David Van Amburgh
 Bela Jozsef Vasvary
 Herbert Edward Vaughan
 Carl Parker Vermilyea
 Anthony Michael Vickers
 Ralph Lewis Waddell
 Richard Ward Wagner
 Louis Gregory Waldhour
 William Roger Waldrop
 James Henry Walker
 Hubert Dalton Wallace
 Bobbie Jack Waller

Charles Cornelius Washington
 Robert Lee Waters
 James Elwyn Watson, Jr.
 Pitt Marvin Watts III
 William Cleon Weathersby
 James Howard Weaver
 Gerald Edwin Webb
 Richard Olin Webb
 Faustin Neff Weber
 Gerard Jenson Weber
 Richard Ross Weisner
 Michael Norton Welch
 Herbert Daniel Wells
 True Franklin Wells
 Anthony Daniel Weyland
 Gene Child Whaples
 J. Dee Whisenhunt
 Jerry Donald White
 Berkley Allan Whipple
 Basil John Whiting, Jr.
 Lee Roy Whitley
 Nathaniel Olmstead Whitlaw, Jr.
 Rush Robert Wicker, Jr.
 Thomas John Wilbanks
 Charles Earl Williams
 Samuel Douglas Williams
 Stephen Beryle Williams
 Charles Cole Wing, Jr.
 Lawrence Jerome Winston
 David Bitner Wirthlin
 James Michael Wisby
 Gerald Smithers Wolf
 Robert Raymond Wolff
 Larry Wayne Wood
 George Satterwhite, Jr.
 Thomas John Woodall
 Lawrence Leonard Woodman, Jr.
 Edward Richard Wynn
 Phillip Takeshi Yamaguchi
 Joseph Paul Yannuzzi
 Donald York
 Robert Laverne Yoxthelmer
 Lawrence Paul Zaborowski
 John Zebrowski, Jr.
 William James Zimmer
 Carl Edward Zoubra
 Ervan Eugene Zouzalik

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate March 31 (legislative day of March 30), 1960:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Frank E. Barr., of Kansas, to be an Assistant Postmaster General.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1960

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Clark Robbins, First Methodist Church, Huntington Park, Calif., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Father, Thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, come close to us each one in these quiet moments that we share together. Remind us that we are debtors to the past, to giant souls who have labored in these Halls and throughout the Nation. Remind us and help us to a larger love for freedom and for liberty. Save us from blindness to sins at home while we ask for reforms abroad. Make straight in the deserts of our time a highway of righteousness and peace and help us to walk thereon.

We ask these things in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord and our Saviour. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

NAVAJO TRIBE OF INDIANS

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 6329) to set aside permanently certain land in McKinley County, N. Mex., for use of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Amend the title so as to read: "An act to convey certain land in McKinley County, New Mexico, to the Navajo Tribe of Indians."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROGRAM FOR NEXT WEEK

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Indiana?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of inquiring of the acting majority leader as to the program for the balance of the week and for next week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, in response to the distinguished minority leader, Monday is Consent Calendar day. Then there are five suspensions: H.R. 10550, extend Export Control Act of 1949; S. 1062, mergers, Federal Deposit Insurance Act; House Joint Resolution 397, resettlement of refugees; House Resolution 431, White House Conference on Narcotics; H.R. 10087, taxes, foreign tax credit.

On Tuesday the Private Calendar will be called. Any rollcalls on Monday or Tuesday, except on rules, will go over until Wednesday, due to the Wisconsin primaries.

On Wednesday there will be a joint meeting for the purpose of receiving the President of Colombia as a distinguished guest of the Congress, and also H.R. 10959, employment retired commissioned officers.

Thursday and the balance of the week is undetermined. Then there are the usual reservations that any further program will be announced later, and conference reports may be brought up at any time.

Mr. HALLECK. I thank the gentleman.

HSIAO-LI LINDSAY

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the

Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 9444) for the relief of Hsiao-li Lindsay—nee Li-Hsiao-li—with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill. The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Lines 5 and 6, strike out "notwithstanding the provisions of section 202(a) and 202(b) of that Act" and insert "and the provisions of section 201(a), 202(a) (5), and 202(b) (2) of that Act shall not be applicable in this case".

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON IMPORTS OF CASEIN

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 7456) to extend for 3 years the suspension of duty on imports of casein, with Senate amendments thereto, and concur in the Senate amendments.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendments, as follows:

(1) Line 7, strike out "1960" and insert "March 31, 1960".

(2) Line 7, strike out "1963" and insert "July 1, 1960".

Amend the title so as to read: "An Act to extend until July 1, 1960, the suspension of duty on imports of casein."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arkansas?

There was no objection.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, as the Members of the House will recall, as it passed the House H.R. 7456 provided for an extension of 3 years, until the close of March 31, 1963, of the existing suspension of import duties on casein. The Senate has amended the bill to provide that the suspension be continued for 3 months only, until July 1, 1960.

The Senate Finance Committee has scheduled a hearing to be held on this bill today, March 31, 1960. By extending the existing suspension for 3 months, ample time will be afforded for all interested parties to be heard, and at the same time the suspension will not lapse before appropriate action can be taken.

I urge that the House accept the amendment of the Senate.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Wisconsin?

There was no objection.

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I have concurred in the action in agreeing to the Senate amendment to H.R. 7456.

It will be recalled that the House passed version of this legislation would have continued for an additional 3 years to April 1, 1963, the existing law suspension of import duty on casein. The Senate-approved amendment would continue the suspension for 3 months to July 1, 1960. Under present law this suspension is scheduled to terminate tomorrow April 1, 1960.

The original legislative action suspending the duty on casein occurred in 1957. The duty has been suspended for the entire period from September 3, 1957, to the present time.

In anticipation of the scheduled expiration of this suspension at the end of the current month, the Committee on Ways and Means on August 10, 1959, unanimously reported to the House legislation which had been introduced June 1, 1959, to continue the suspension for 3 additional years. On August 18, 1959, the House unanimously passed this bill and sent it to the other body.

To my knowledge no objection has ever previously been raised to the suspension of the import duty on casein during the time the suspension has been in effect. Recently an objection was made in the other body after the Senate Finance Committee had favorably reported H.R. 7456 to the Senate without amendment. This objection resulted in a Senate floor amendment to the legislation so as to provide the 3-month continuation of the suspension of duty to July 1, 1960. A 3-month extension of the suspension will give opportunity for public hearings on this matter to ascertain the merit of the objection. It is my understanding that the Senate Finance Committee has scheduled such public hearings. The interim 3-month suspension will alleviate to some extent the disruption of procurement practices of casein users.

I have agreed to concur in the Senate amendment so as to allow such public hearings to be held with the understanding that a more realistic extension of the suspension will receive congressional action during the present session of Congress.

The Senate amendments were concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on House Administration be discharged from further consideration of the bill (S. 2778) to amend the act relating to the Commission of Fine Arts and for the immediate consideration thereof.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what bill are we considering, S. 2778 or H.R. 7923, under this procedure?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. We are considering S. 2778, which I hope to amend by inserting language of H.R. 7923 which was reported unanimously from the House Committee on Administration.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman intends to take some time to explain the bill and will yield for questions?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. When we get down to the amendment, I shall be glad to.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 2 of the Act entitled "An Act Establishing a Commission of Fine Arts," as amended (40 U.S.C. 106), is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 2. That to meet the expenses made necessary by this Act an expenditure of not exceeding \$100,000 a year is hereby authorized."

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. JONES of Missouri: On page 1, strike out lines 6, 7, and 8 and insert:

"Sec. 2. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such amounts as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act."

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am now glad to yield to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Gross].

Mr. GROSS. What is this bill going to cost under the amended version?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I would say to the gentleman from Iowa that whereas there is a present limitation of \$35,000 for appropriations to the Commission of Fine Arts, this would lift that limitation. I might say that for the past 3 years that limitation has not been adhered to in the appropriations that have been made. We feel that that limitation was set many years ago and is not now a realistic figure. Rather than accept the limitation fixed by the other body at \$100,000, which we felt might be used as a goal for them to shoot at, we think that the House language with the limitation as reported by our committee would be more practical. The members of the committee felt that there would be less money spent in that way.

Mr. GROSS. I think the gentleman is correct in assuming that adoption of the Senate provision would mean the Fine Arts Commission attempt to obtain the full \$100,000. The limitation now is \$35,000.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. We are taking off all the ceiling.

Mr. GROSS. There is no limitation in the language which the gentleman would insert in the bill.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I agree with the gentleman that there is no limitation, but it was the opinion of the com-

mittee, in which I concur, that in this case the ceiling of \$100,000 would encourage the spending of more money than by taking off the ceiling entirely, because justifications would have to be made before the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. GROSS. What does the gentleman think this Fine Arts Commission ought to have by way of an increase?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I will say to the gentleman from Iowa this is like many other things in our Government. I feel that at least with the present makeup of the Commission they would spend probably in the neighborhood of \$45,000.

Mr. GROSS. A \$10,000 annual increase, in other words.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. It would be approximately that, I would think.

Mr. GROSS. What has the Committee on Appropriations been giving them up to this point?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. The highest figure, as I recall, and I would not want to be held to it, is in the neighborhood of \$45,000.

Mr. GROSS. So the Appropriations Committees of the House and Senate have been violating the law to the extent of \$10,000 a year?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I would not want to comment on that.

Mr. GROSS. The limitation was \$35,000, was it not?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I think the gentleman is correct.

Mr. GROSS. And if the committees have been giving them \$45,000, they have been bending the law pretty much out of shape, have they not?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. The gentleman can draw his own conclusion as to that.

Mr. GROSS. Does this have anything to do with the cultural center that is to be built down in Foggy Bottom?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I am sorry; I cannot answer the gentleman's question about that. Foggy Bottom was not discussed in connection with this bill.

Mr. GROSS. What does this Fine Arts Commission do?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. It is the official advisory body of Government upon matters of art. It makes recommendations concerning the artistic aspects of design and location of public statues, fountains, monuments, buildings, and similar Federal projects, within the District of Columbia. I would say it is solely an advisory commission. I would also state to the gentleman that many of the people who serve on the Commission are serving without any compensation. They do have employees, a staff who draw salaries, but our committee felt that they were not being overpaid. They felt it was a necessary function to have such a commission.

Mr. GROSS. The appropriation has not been made for this year?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I could not answer the gentleman's question.

Mr. GROSS. I am confident that I cannot stop the passage of this legislation, but I am opposed to it and I am certainly going to be watching for the appropriation when it comes in.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. As the gentleman well knows, I am only representing our committee here.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Missouri.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 7923) was laid on the table.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. THOMPSON] may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, as author of H.R. 7923, I wish to take this opportunity to express myself on its behalf. I also desire to present a brief explanation of its real objective. The bill simply seeks the removal of a fixed limit of \$35,000 for fiscal expenditures by the Commission of Fine Arts. This limitation of authorization was established in May 1955 and after 5 years of very difficult financial programming the officials of that great Commission are now seeking permission to have its necessary activities annually reviewed, and its estimates justified, by the Committee on Appropriations in both Houses. They made an excellent case before our committee, pointing up the extensive work being done in our country's ever-growing demand for the fine arts and the importance of such a public service. The committee was unanimous in its endorsement of the proposal.

I compliment the course taken by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES] who recommended passage of a similar Senate bill, S. 2778, and amended it so as to include the provisions of H.R. 7923. The Senate-passed measure would limit the Commission's authorization to \$100,000 instead of the present \$35,000. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. JONES], who is chairman of the Subcommittee on Library and Memorials, carefully followed the views of our committee, which was advised by the distinguished Chairman of the Commission, Dr. David E. Finley, who stated:

As it is not possible to anticipate what the workload will be several years from now, or to foresee what legislation there may be which will affect the workload or the costs, the Commission hesitates to recommend a specific limitation amount.

The Bureau of the Budget has approved H.R. 7923, and has concurred in the views expressed by Dr. Finley as to the necessity of enactment of this legislation as being in the best interests of the Commission of Fine Arts and the Nation.

The Commission of Fine Arts has been very careful in its expenditures of Government funds over the 49 years of its existence but it has found that its actual operating expenses have increased

to a degree which makes it impossible adequately to discharge its functions within the \$35,000 limit.

In fact, the appropriations for the Commission have exceeded the \$35,000 limitation for the last 3 years. The excess for 1958 and 1959 and a portion of that for 1960 was required by the Federal Employees Salary Increase Act of 1958—Public Law 85-462. An additional \$4,600 was requested and appropriated for the fiscal year 1960 to cover additional travel costs by reason of the appointment of a member from New Mexico to the Commission by President Eisenhower.

During fiscal year 1959, it was necessary for the Commission of Fine Arts to hold three extra meetings of the architect and landscape architect members of the Commission with the Executive Secretary, outside of Washington, D.C., in order to develop acceptable designs for the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Bridge and for the exterior and interior of the addition to the Department of State. The cost of these three meetings, plus the cost of travel for the new member of the Commission appointed from New Mexico, together with the in-grade salary raises made mandatory by law, made it impossible for the Commission to hold the regular monthly meetings scheduled for May and June 1959.

It is important to point out that the Commission of Fine Arts will complete 50 years of service to the Federal Government and to the Nation in 1960. During these 50 years the Government has had the benefit of services, free of charge, of more than 60 of the country's most distinguished architects, landscape architects, painters, sculptors, and distinguished judges of the fine arts.

I would agree with Dr. David E. Finley in his statement that—

It would be fair to say that from no other agency has the Government received so much in the way of expert services for so small an outlay of funds.

If, today, the Nation's Capital is one of the most beautiful and impressive cities in the world, far outweighing many European capital cities, particularly Moscow and the provincial capitals of the Soviet Union, it is due to the devoted services of the members of the Commission of Fine Arts.

Among the great Americans who have contributed their services to the work of the Commission of Fine Arts are the following:

Daniel H. Burnham, architect, Chairman; appointed June 15, 1910; died June 1, 1912.

Frederick Law Olmsted, landscape architect; appointed June 15, 1910; reappointed June 15, 1914. Term of service expired September 11, 1918.

Thomas Hastings, architect; appointed June 15, 1910; reappointed June 15, 1914. Term of service expired September 21, 1917.

Daniel Chester French, sculptor; appointed June 15, 1910; appointed Chairman July 5, 1912; resigned June 15, 1915.

Francis D. Millet, painter; appointed June 15, 1910; died April 5, 1912.

Cass Gilbert, architect; appointed June 15, 1910; reappointed June 15, 1914; resigned September 20, 1916.

Charles Moore; appointed June 15, 1910; reappointed June 15, 1914; elected Chairman July 29, 1915; reappointed for third term September 11, 1918; reelected Chairman October 4, 1918; reappointed for fourth term November 3, 1922; reelected Chairman December 18, 1922; reappointed for fifth term December 9, 1926; reelected Chairman January 6, 1927; reappointed for sixth term December 8, 1930; reelected Chairman January 6, 1931; reappointed for seventh term December 18, 1934; reelected Chairman; resigned as Chairman September 29, 1937. The term of service of Mr. Moore expired January 18, 1940. Mr. Moore died September 25, 1942.

Edwin H. Blashfield, painter; appointed May 31, 1912, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Francis D. Millet. Term of service expired September 1, 1916.

Pierce Anderson, architect; appointed July 5, 1912, to fill vacancy caused by the death of Daniel H. Burnham. Term of service expired September 1, 1916.

Herbert Adams, sculptor; appointed June 15, 1915, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Daniel Chester French.

J. Alden Weir, painter; appointed September 1, 1916, to fill vacancy caused by termination of term of service of Mr. Blashfield. Mr. Weir died December 8, 1919.

Charles A. Platt, architect; appointed September 1, 1916, to fill vacancy caused by termination of term of service of Mr. Anderson.

William Mitchell Kendall, architect; appointed September 20, 1916, to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Mr. Gilbert.

John Russell Pope, architect; appointed September 21, 1917, to fill vacancy caused by termination of term of service of Mr. Hastings.

James L. Greenleaf, landscape architect; appointed September 11, 1918, to fill vacancy caused by termination of term of service of Frederick Law Olmsted; reappointed February 1, 1923.

William Sergeant Kendall, painter; appointed April 10, 1920, to fill vacancy caused by the death of J. Alden Weir.

James E. Fraser, sculptor; appointed May 7, 1920, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of Mr. Adams.

Louis Ayres, architect; appointed February 19, 1921, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of William Mitchell Kendall.

Henry Bacon, architect; appointed February 21, 1921, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of Charles A. Platt. Mr. Bacon died February 16, 1924.

H. Siddons Mowbray, painter; appointed February 24, 1921, to fill vacancy caused by resignation of William Sergeant Kendall. Mr. Mowbray died January 13, 1928.

Milton B. Medary, Jr., architect; appointed December 2, 1922, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of John Russell Pope.

William Adams Delano, architect; appointed April 8, 1924, to fill vacancy caused by the death of Henry Bacon.

Lorado Taft, sculptor; appointed February 14, 1925, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of James E. Fraser.

Abram Garfield, architect; appointed November 2, 1925, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of Louis Ayres.

Benjamin W. Morris, architect; appointed January 7, 1927, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of Milton B. Medary, Jr.

Ferruccio Vitale, landscape architect; appointed September 28, 1927, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of James L. Greenleaf.

Ezra Winter, painter; appointed June 6, 1928, to fill vacancy caused by the death of H. Siddons Mowbray.

John W. Cross, architect; appointed October 25, 1928, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of William Adams Delano.

Adolph A. Weinman, sculptor; appointed February 23, 1929, to fill vacancy caused by termination of service of Lorado Taft.

John L. Mauran, architect; appointed October 22, 1930, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Abram Garfield. Mr. Mauran died September 23, 1933.

Egerton Swartwout, architect; appointed August 10, 1931, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Benjamin W. Morris.

Gilmore D. Clarke, landscape architect; appointed April 21, 1932, to fill vacancy caused by the termination of service of Ferruccio Vitale; reappointed April 18, 1936; elected Vice Chairman May 1, 1936; elected Chairman September 29, 1937; reappointed and elected Chairman April 18, 1940; reappointed and elected Chairman March 16, 1945.

Lee Lawrie, sculptor; appointed January 18, 1933, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Adolph A. Weinman.

John Mead Howells, architect; appointed January 25, 1933, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of John W. Cross.

Eugene F. Savage, painter; appointed February 11, 1933, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Ezra Winter; reappointed January 26, 1937, and term of service expired March 28, 1941.

Charles A. Coolidge, architect; appointed December 14, 1933, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of John L. Mauran. Mr. Coolidge died April 1, 1936.

Charles L. Borie, Jr., architect; appointed February 17, 1936, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Egerton Swartwout.

Henry R. Shepley, architect; appointed April 28, 1936, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Coolidge; elected Vice Chairman August 10, 1938.

William F. Lamb, architect; appointed January 19, 1937, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Howells; reappointed March 24, 1941; elected Vice Chairman May 9, 1941.

Paul Manship, sculptor; appointed January 22, 1937, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Lawrie.

Edward Bruce, art critic; appointed January 19, 1940, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Moore. Mr. Bruce died January 26, 1943.

Paul P. Cret, architect; appointed April 25, 1940, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Borie. Reappointed March 17, 1945. Dr. Cret died September 8, 1945.

John A. Holabird, architect; appointed May 3, 1940, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Shepley. Reappointed March 19, 1945. Mr. Holabird died May 4, 1945.

Henry V. Poor, painter; appointed March 29, 1941, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Savage.

Ralph Stackpole, sculptor; appointed October 6, 1941, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Manship.

David E. Finley, museum director; appointed May 11, 1943, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Bruce; reappointed May 16, 1947; reappointed June 4, 1951.

William T. Aldrich, architect; appointed August 30, 1945, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Holabird.

L. Andrew Reinhard, architect; appointed August 31, 1945, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Lamb.

Maurice Sterne, painter; appointed September 4, 1945, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Poor.

Frederick V. Murphy, architect; appointed November 30, 1945, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Cret.

Lee Lawrie, sculptor; appointed December 5, 1945, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Stackpole.

Joseph Hudnut, architect; appointed June 28, 1950, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Clarke.

Edward F. Neild, Sr., architect; appointed June 26, 1950, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Aldrich.

Felix W. deWeldon, sculptor; appointed June 26, 1950, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Lawrie.

Pietro Belluschi, architect; appointed June 30, 1950, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Reinhard.

Elbert Peets, landscape architect and city planner; appointed August 4, 1950, to fill the vacancy caused by the termination of service of Mr. Murphy.

George Biddle, painter; appointed August 8, 1950, resigned August 19, 1951; reappointed to succeed himself January 20, 1953.

SECRETARIES AND EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

The officer in charge of public buildings and grounds, ex officio.

Col. Spencer Cosby, U.S. Army, 1910-13; served until detailed as military attaché at the American Embassy, France.

Col. William W. Harts, U.S. Army, 1913-17; served until relieved and assigned for military duty in France.

Maj. C. S. Ridley, U.S. Army, 1917-21.
Lt. Col. C. A. Sherrill, U.S. Army, 1921-22.
H. P. Caemmerer, 1922-54.
Linton R. Wilson, 1954 to date.

SIGNING OF ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding the adjournment of the House until Monday, the Clerk be authorized to receive messages from the Senate and that the Speaker be authorized to sign any enrolled bills and joint resolutions duly passed by the two Houses and found truly enrolled.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

SPECIAL MILK PROGRAM FOR CHILDREN

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 9331) to increase the authorized maximum expenditure for the fiscal years 1960 and 1961 under the special milk program for children, with Senate amendments thereto, disagree to the Senate amendments, and request a conference with the Senate.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. COOLEY, POAGE, ABERNETHY, JOHNSON of Wisconsin, HOEVEN, DAGUE, and MCINTIRE.

FARM MARKETING EXCESS OF WHEAT

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the bill (H.R. 4874) to amend section 334 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to provide that for certain purposes of this section, farms on which the farm marketing excess of wheat is adjusted to zero because of underproduction shall be regarded as farms on which the entire amount of the farm marketing excess of wheat has been delivered to the Secretary or stored to avoid or postpone the payment of the penalty, with a Senate amendment thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert: "That section 334 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, is further amended by inserting a new subsection (d) between subsections (c) and (e) to read as follows:

"(d) For the purposes of subsections (a), (b), and (c) of this section, any farm—
"(1) to which a wheat marketing quota is applicable; and

"(2) on which the acreage planted to wheat exceeds the farm wheat acreage allotment; and

"(3) on which the marketing excess is zero shall be regarded as a farm on which the entire amount of the farm marketing excess has been delivered to the Secretary or stored in accordance with applicable regulations to avoid or postpone the payment of the penalty. This subsection shall be applicable in establishing the acreage seeded and diverted and the past acreage of wheat for 1959 and subsequent years in the apportionment of allotments beginning with the 1961 crop of wheat. For the purpose of clause (1) of this subsection, a farm with respect to which an exemption has been granted under section 335(f) for any year shall not be regarded as a farm to which a wheat marketing quota is applicable for such year, even though such exemption should become null and void because of a violation of the conditions of the exemption."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. COOLEY]?

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, would the gentleman from North Carolina explain the nature of the Senate amendment?

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Senate amendment is technical. It does not change the substance of the bill, but merely makes it clear that the bill does not apply to those farms which are exempt from the quotas, that is, the 15-acre feed wheat exemption. It clarifies the effective date of the legislation.

Mr. HOEVEN. And it does not change the substance of the bill whatsoever?

Mr. COOLEY. It does not change the substance of the bill one bit.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PRESERVING ACREAGE ALLOTMENTS ON CERTAIN LAND TAKEN UNDER EMINENT DOMAIN

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the bill (H.R. 8343) relating to the preservation of acreage allotments on land from which the owner is displaced by reason of the acquisition thereof by a Government agency in the exercise of the right of eminent domain, with an amendment of the Senate thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 2, line 7, strike out "one year" and insert "two years".

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, will the chairman explain the nature of the Senate amendment?

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have a brief explanation prepared which I will be glad to read.

Mr. Speaker, in 1958, Congress enacted a law—Public Law 85-835—providing a uniform policy for the transfer of acreage allotments to new farms when a farm having such an allotment is taken by a public agency having the power of eminent domain. By oversight, no provision was made for instances, which are becoming increasingly common, where the previous owner is permitted to occupy and operate the land under lease until it is actually needed for the purpose for which it was taken.

This bill takes care of such situations by providing that if the former owner is permitted by the acquiring agency to continue to operate the land under lease for some period of time, he will be permitted to grow crops subject to allotment at the time title was acquired by the public agency.

The House bill gave former owners 1 year after the enactment of this bill in which to make such a lease and have their allotment returned. The Senate amendment changes this to 2 years. It is the only change in the bill.

Mr. HOEVEN. Then, Mr. Speaker, my understanding is the Senate amendment only makes this one change, from 1 year to 2 years?

Mr. COOLEY. That is right.

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, I have consulted with the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. SMITH] who is interested in this legislation and he agrees to the amendment.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

THE LATE HARRY S. TANSEY

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it is my sad duty to inform the House of the death of Harry S. Tansey. For 23 years he served the House faithfully, many years as one of our doorkeepers. During this long period of loyal service he endeared himself to all the Members. There is deep grief in this Chamber at his passing. His heart was in this House, and now that he has left us the hearts of all are deeply touched. To his wife, his daughter, and his sisters flows our sympathy.

Harry Tansey came from the district that I have the honor to represent and from the ward in Chicago in which for many decades I have had my home. During these years Harry Tansey has been my valued friend, and his brother, the late John P. Tansey, was one of my closest and dearest friends for over half a century.

Last night I visited the funeral home to say my last farewell. Today in Chicago a multitude of men and women in the Second District will be paying the last homage to his memory. He will be missed there, sadly missed, and he will be missed so very much here.

We in this House, in a personal sense, are one family that embraces in a family affection both the Members and those who work in our offices and work with us here in the Capitol. Together we do the work of the Congress. Harry Tansey long was of that family, and long will he be missed.

I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. KLUCZYNSKI].

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is with a truly heavy heart that I rise today and attempt to express with mere words my genuine sorrow at the death of a longtime and valued friend, Harry S. Tansey. He was a kind and gentle person who loved his fellow man. He served as a Doorkeeper in the House of Representatives for many years and was the senior man in point of service in the House gallery. He also served with the Capitol Police force in the document room and folding room. During his period of service there never was a complaint of any kind ever registered against him as he knew well how to be kind to people.

To his bereaved widow Catherine, to his daughter, Mrs. Catherine Tanner, and family, and to his sisters, Mrs. Kluczynski and myself offer our heartfelt sympathy and condolence.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MURPHY].

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, I rise with a great deal of emotion today to pay my respects to the late Harry Tansey. It was just a week ago Sunday that I attended church with him and escorted him for several blocks in a walk toward his home. I feel that with 20 years' service in this body as doorkeeper, and my acquaintanceship with the gentleman during that period and also my friendship with him in the city of Chicago, it was a great shock to learn of his death. I want to extend to his bereaved wife and daughter my heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members who desire to do so may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to extend my condolences to the widow of Harry Tansey and his daughter and family. Harry was very well liked by all of us here in the Congress and I know that he was very helpful to many of my constituents from Massachusetts. Always very kind and courteous and with a kind word each day to those who visited in the gallery, he will be greatly missed by me and many other Congressmen here in the House.

Mr. O'BRIEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Harry S. Tansey I have

lost a friend of many years. His elder brother, John P. Tansey, was one of the leaders of the Democratic Party in Cook County when I was a young man and our friendship had continued until his death not many months ago. Harry Tansey was a good man and in his 23 years of service with the House he was faithful in the performance of his duty and won the respect and affection of the Members and his fellowworkers.

Mrs. O'Brien joins me in expression of deep sympathy to his wife, his daughter, and his sisters.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join in the tribute being paid to the late Harry Tansey, a native of Chicago, who for the last 23 years has been one of the most devoted employees in the Congress of the United States.

Mr. Tansey's untimely death will indeed leave a most saddened void in Gallery C, where this kind and gentle employee had served as doorkeeper, of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Speaker, it would be difficult to estimate the thousands upon thousands of people who had occasion to ask Mr. Tansey for guidance during these past 23 years when they made their visits to this Chamber. But I can assure you and my colleagues that no one would find any difficulty in assessing the high regard and respect these people engendered as a result of their meeting Mr. Tansey. He had a unique ability to make strangers feel completely at ease and at home in this austere Chamber. In his quiet and gentle way, he made every American who had occasion to pass through the door of Gallery C feel at once proud of his Government and the principles for which it stands.

Mr. Tansey reflected the high caliber of those thousands upon thousands of dedicated Government employees who, day in and day out, in their own quiet and obscure way, make such a profound contribution toward the operation of our Republic.

We will all feel his loss deeply. To his family, I extend my most sincere condolences.

CHEMICAL PESTICIDES COORDINATION ACT

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the body of the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to avert the serious and unnecessary losses of fish and wildlife that have occurred in many areas as a result of the careless or uninformed use of chemical pesticides. The principle of my bill is simple. It would merely require any Federal department or bureau engaged in, or planning to engage in, a program or operation utilizing insecticides, herbicides or other chemicals designed for mass biological controls, to consult in advance with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the appropriate State wildlife authorities. Through such advance consultation, the probable ef-

fects upon wildlife resources can be studied and techniques devised to minimize losses.

This would be a Chemical Pesticides Coordination Act. The principle of such legislation has already been firmly established by the Congress. Our precedent is to be found in the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act (60 Stat. 1080) passed in 1946 and strengthened only 2 years ago by the adoption of modernizing amendments. This earlier and highly successful Coordination Act has to do with water development projects. It assures that before a stream is dammed, dredged or otherwise manipulated, there shall be advance study of the effects upon fish and wildlife, and advance planning coincident with the blueprinting of the project, to mitigate wildlife losses or, as is frequently possible, actually to enhance wildlife resources. The results have included a vast expansion of recreational opportunities for sportsmen and for the millions of others who enjoy the music and beauty of wild things. Impoundments and the streams below them have been turned into good fish producers, and new waterfowl marshes have been created, as a result of the law permitting—nay, requiring—the wildlife experts to get in on the ground floor with the engineers in planning our flood-control, reclamation, and watershed projects.

I am confident that in many operations involving chemical controls, benefits rather than damages will accrue to wildlife if there is proper coordination between the pest-control agency and the agencies responsible for wildlife conservation. Biologists on the King Ranch in Texas, for example, have shown that brush removal, while detrimental to wildlife if applied uniformly across thousands of acres, can actually benefit deer and other game if applied in alternate strips with intermediate strips left to supply cover.

The need for coordination in the use of pesticides has been amply demonstrated, Mr. Speaker. This is but another example of the problems we encounter in this age of technology when man's invention of new tools frequently outruns his wisdom in using them. In his effective work to secure larger appropriations for research into the fish and wildlife effects of chemical pesticides, the gentleman from Montana [Mr. METCALF] has told the House how careless use of DDT in the forested watersheds of Montana resulted in serious and prolonged damage to famous trout streams of that State.

Serious wildlife damages resulted from the hasty and large-scale aerial application of toxic chemicals in the fire ant control program carried out in certain Southeastern States by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. These losses have been carefully and irrefutably documented by Federal and State research biologists.

The Southeastern Association of Fish and Game Commissioners reported in a statement dated February 25, 1960, for example:

In an east Texas area bird life decreased 92 to 97 percent in 2 weeks along ranch roads in treated areas. In acre plots studied, bird populations were reduced 85 percent

and nesting success 89 percent. An Alabama 9,900-acre area experienced an 88 percent decrease in its quail population following treatment and a Georgia area, even after two breeding seasons following poisoning, showed considerably less than half the normal number of quail found on adjacent and comparable untreated land.

Numerous other instances of fish and wildlife losses can be cited.

That the fire ant program was ill-planned and carelessly executed has now been admitted in actions, if not conceded in words, by the U.S. Department of Agriculture Plant Pest Control Division. After tens of thousands of acres had been treated with 2 pounds per acre of heptachlor or dieldrin—both chlorinated hydrocarbons highly toxic to warm-blooded animals as well as to insects—and in the face of mounting protests against the damages to wildlife, the Division reduced the recommended rate to 1¼ pounds per acre. Still later the method was changed to one-fourth pound per acre in each of two applications, spaced 3 to 4 months apart.

The point is this: Needless kills of game birds, furbearers, songbirds, fish and other valuable wildlife could have been avoided, while the nuisance aspects of the imported fire ant were controlled, if the research, experimentation and consultation had been carried out in advance of large-scale operations. My bill would assure that in any program proposing to drench the land with powerfully toxic chemicals, we know what we are doing before we expose wildlife, domestic animals—and man himself—to unknown hazards.

The hazards to human health, although not so well understood nor so amply demonstrated to date as those to wildlife, are no less important. It will be more practical, I think, to deal with the human health problems in a separate bill. For this reason my present introduction deals only with the wildlife problem. Suffice it to say here, with respect to the overlapping questions of human health, the chemical heptachlor, already spread over hundreds of thousands of acres of farmland in the fire ant program, has been shown in laboratory tests to be highly hazardous to human health. Accordingly, the Pure Food and Drug Administration has declared a zero tolerance for heptachlor and the epoxides of heptachlor in foodstuffs. Fish and wildlife research has discovered that heptachlor and its epoxides are stored in the tissues of wild birds, such as quail and pheasants, that pick up insufficient quantities to be fatally affected.

I raise this question: In view of the zero tolerance for heptachlor in farm-produced foodstuffs, what about the health of the sportsmen-hunter and his family who will dine on the quail carrying this poison in their otherwise delectably edible breasts?

The chemical manufacturers probably will oppose my bill, because they fear any control that might affect the fast-growing pesticide market. However, unless reasonable control procedures are established, like the simple one proposed here, an indignant public will demand and get rigid controls.

Control entomologists will argue that a law requiring advance consultation and coordination with wildlife agencies is impractical because insect outbreaks often occur suddenly and without warning. Before interdepartmental redtape could be cleared, they will say, many farmers would be seriously hurt by an outbreak of army worms, for example, or of grasshoppers, or Japanese beetles. This is not a valid objection, Mr. Speaker, because under my bill the control procedures, the materials to be used, the methods and rates of application, and so forth, all could be worked out with the Fish and Wildlife Service in advance of actual outbreaks with respect to any of the common insect pests. Once the approved procedure for Japanese beetles has been agreed to, for example, subject to later modification as research finds better methods, those procedures could be applied immediately by the control agency whenever and wherever a new outbreak occurs. The same would be true of any of the common economic insect pests.

The problem of the imported fire ant in the Southeastern States was no sudden crisis. Believed to have become established in the Mobile area as long as 40 years ago, this South American import has been slowly spreading its infested area through Alabama and adjoining States. Alabama farmers have been using cultural methods effectively to control the fire ant nuisance for a generation.

The commonsense approach would have been to research the fire ant and its life-cycle weaknesses carefully, and to test various control methods thoroughly, utilizing the contributions of wildlife and soil scientists as well as entomologists, instead of plunging headlong into a large-scale spraying program using powerfully poisonous chemicals that were largely untested under field conditions.

My bill, of course, would apply only to Federal control programs. It would not affect activities by State control agencies or by private individuals on private lands, except indirectly by example. However, Uncle Sam cannot do everything. The States and local agencies must accept some of the responsibility. The fact that most of the States have not as yet enacted controls in this area is no reason why Congress should not require desirable coordination among the Federal agencies.

Mr. Speaker, I am not wedded to the specific language of my bill. I do believe it proposes a sensible solution to a problem of increasing urgency. I hope it may serve as the vehicle for early committee hearings and lead to enactment of a workable Chemical Pesticides Coordination Act.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. 11502

A bill to provide for advance consultation with the Fish and Wildlife Service and with State wildlife agencies before the beginning of any Federal program involving the use of pesticides or other chemicals designed for mass biological controls.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Chemical Pesticides Coordination Act."

SEC. 2. No officer or agency of the Federal Government shall initiate, or provide any financial or other assistance for, any program involving the use of any chemical insecticide, herbicide, fungicide, rodenticide, or other chemical used in biological control until such officer or agency has consulted with the United States Fish and Wildlife Service and with the head of the agency exercising administration over the wildlife resources of each State to be affected by the program. Before such consultation occurs, the Federal officer or agency concerned shall furnish the United States Fish and Wildlife Service and each such State agency with complete information about the proposed program.

SEC. 3. The United States Fish and Wildlife Service shall advise the officers and agencies consulting with it, as required by section 2, of the damage to wildlife resources which might result from any proposed program. Such Service shall cooperate with such Federal officer and agencies in developing programs involving the use of chemical insecticides, herbicides, fungicides, rodenticides, and other chemicals used in mass biological controls, or other methods with a view to achieving the results desired while minimizing the undesirable effects of the program on the wildlife resources of the area. In the event any Federal officer or agency shall fail to take any action recommended by the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, such Service shall make a report thereof without delay to the Congress for referral to the appropriate committees.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Interior may, by regulations, make exceptions from the application of this Act where, by reason of the limited nature of the program or by reason of the proved harmlessness of the chemical involved, little or no damage to wildlife resources could result from the program.

THE REPUBLICANS AND HOME RULE FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, this morning the Washington Post carried an editorial entitled "Hazard for the GOP." I hope my Republican friends will not take kindly the following editorial and will prove the falsity of its charges by immediately signing the discharge petition for home rule.

The editorial reads as follows:

HAZARD FOR THE GOP

Whether or not they intend to do so, Republican Members of the House are strangling the local home-rule movement. More than 180 signatures have now been obtained to the petition to release the District self-government bill from the death grip of the House District Committee, but only 40 of these have been provided by Republican legislators. The recent drive for signatures resulted in the addition of 43 names to the home-rule honor roll, but only 7 of these legislators wear the GOP label.

This ought to be a matter of grave concern to President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon as well as to the voteless residents of the District. The restoration of voting rights to 870,000 citizens of the District—through the home-rule bill as well as

through the proposed constitutional amendment to permit voting for President and for Delegates in Congress—is a civil rights project of foremost importance. Editors, lecturers, public servants, and a vast number of other persons have come to recognize that elimination of this blot of disfranchisement is essential to the good standing of the United States among the free peoples of the earth. The Republican Party cannot be indifferent to this local demand for justice and democracy without condemning itself in the eyes of mankind.

This throttling operation is the more amazing because it is the administration's bill that is being done in. How can Republican legislators stand by and watch their Democratic rivals claim nearly all the credit for advancing this vital civil rights measure? The situation ought to be of special concern to Vice President Nixon in his capacity as the prospective Republican presidential candidate in the forthcoming campaign. A few words from the Vice President should be enough to make Minority Leader HALLECK see the handicap that the Republicans in the House are creating for themselves.

It is said that about 25 additional Republican signatures are needed to dislodge the discharge petition and make home rule here a reality. The Democrats have done their part well. It is difficult to believe that the Republican leaders in and out of Congress will permit this civil rights venture to topple on their own heads on the eve of an election.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION ON NOXIOUS PRINTED AND PICTURED MATERIAL

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from New York [Mrs. ST. GEORGE] may extend her remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 29, my colleague, the gentleman from Maine [Mr. OLIVER], introduced a resolution entitled "A bill to establish a Commission on Noxious Printed and Pictured Material."

Mr. Speaker, I was unfortunately not on the floor when the gentleman from Maine spoke to his resolution. I want to take this time to commend the gentleman for doing something concrete and constructive in this very difficult and controversial field. I think his idea of a commission of experts to deliberate on, and finally settle, what harm this flood of pornography does to our people as a whole, and our youth in particular, is excellent. I am also glad to see that this resolution calls for a terminal date, June 30, 1961, for the labors of this Commission, so that in this case we will not be appointing another merry little band that will meander on and on, like the proverbial brook, accomplishing far less than said brook, and making far more noise.

I would like to associate myself with the gentleman from Maine, as I have worked with him on the subcommittee that has been handling this problem under the able chairmanship of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mrs. GRANAHAN].

I have only one suggestion; that is, that I hope that in naming "one who

shall be a prominent citizen who is a parent of a school-age child or children"—section 3(a)(9)—he will specify that this citizen be a woman and, therefore, a mother.

FINANCING OF NURSING EDUCATION

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, the nurses of the country are essential members of the health team. We know of their importance in times of peace and we know of their services in times of war. It is imperative that we have adequate numbers of well-trained nurses if we are to continue our progress on the road to good health.

Today we do not have enough nurses, and the means for their education and training are increasingly inadequate; we must enable our schools of nursing to prepare a greatly increased number of our young women to serve in this essential profession. The cost of nurse education constitutes at present a heavy burden on hospital services because such education is provided mainly in non-profit voluntary hospitals and the cost of the education is a charge upon the patients cared for in these institutions.

I am convinced that the problem is of such magnitude and of such a serious nature as to be of direct national concern, and that the Congress should at this time make a beginning toward dealing with it. This Federal concern is in keeping with the thinking which we have followed on numerous other important national matters in the health field. I am, therefore, introducing a bill which I believe recognizes the essential elements of the problem. Through hearings on this bill, and on the subject in general, I would hope that we may agree upon a program of action, and thus assist in assuring the increased numbers of well-trained nurses which we need.

In 1957, the latest year for which comprehensive facts about nursing are available, there were about 837,000 graduate nurses living in the United States, 460,000 of whom were in active practice in their profession. There were approximately 113,000 student nurses in training, and 30,523 nurses graduated from nursing schools that year. There were 44,281 new students enrolled that year.

If we are to keep pace with the growing population and its need for nurses, as well as the increasing demands of more intensive health care, it is estimated we should have a 1956-70 annual average admission of 57,000 new students, as compared with the current annual rate of about 44,000, or 5 new students for every 4 currently admitted. About 15 percent of students in nursing are enrolled on collegiate programs, and the other 85 percent are in programs conducted by hospitals. Students enrolled in the collegiate programs, of

course, are dependent upon their training in hospitals also for a large part of their education.

About 900 of the Nation's hospitals conduct programs of nurse education. The graduates from these schools constitute the major part of our single nationwide pool of professional nurses, from which the needs of Federal, State, and local governments, those of industry and other private nonhospital employers, as well as those of the thousands of hospitals which do not operate schools of nursing, all must be supplied. The financial burden imposed on the 900 hospitals conducting schools of nursing is borne by the sick who use the hospitals. This deficit now runs as high as \$1,000 per nurse trainee per year, and the cost of the education is increasing as the standards are improved.

Because of the continually increased pressure hospitals feel with respect to rising costs of hospital care, many boards of trustees are seriously concerned about their ability to continue their nursing schools. A good many schools have already closed. It is unlikely that many hospitals which do not now have nursing schools will open such schools under these circumstances. Without some new source of financing nurse education, there is no prospect of our having the increased numbers of nurses needed for the future.

The problem for hospitals which conduct schools of nursing has another aspect. The distribution of schools of nursing is very uneven geographically across the country. There are a few States which contribute a major proportion of nurses to the national pool. There are many other States which contribute very little to the Nation's need, and where nurse educational programs are far below the needs of these States alone. It is very frustrating, for example, for hospitals in the State of Massachusetts to educate a large body of nurses, as they do, only to have most of them move to other parts of the country. It is difficult for these hospitals to justify the charge which must be borne by their patients.

Federal, State, and local governments are involved in varying degrees in health matters and in the operation of hospitals which require the services of graduate nurses. About 25 percent of all nurses active in their profession are employed by government. In the main, the education of nurses required by government is not carried on in educational institutions supported by government. Whereas State and local governments participate to a limited extent in nurse education, the Federal Government is a user of nurses completely provided by others, and does not itself participate in meeting the cost of the basic training of professional nurses. This, I believe, ought to be corrected.

It is true that the Federal Government is supporting scholarships for advanced training of nurse educators, administrators, and supervisors. It is also true that the Federal Government is participating in the financing of training programs for practical nurses through the vocational educational system. But it is doing

nothing with respect to the basic education of the graduate professional nurse. This is the great area of need.

We are now seeing greatly increased numbers of young people coming out of our high schools as a result of the increase in the number of births in recent years. We, therefore, have available a much larger group of potential candidates who might enter the field of nursing, and I believe we must plan now so that they are enabled to do so.

THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION

In considering the problem, it has seemed to me that there are certain principles which should guide any Federal action in this area. These principles, I may add, are in accord with views which have been developed by the American Hospital Association in its studies of this problem over a number of years.

The first of these principles is that aid in meeting the problem is a joint responsibility of National and State Governments, and one altogether appropriate for the traditional pattern of Federal grant-in-aid to be matched by the respective States.

The second basic principle is that the aid must be so designed that it will effectively assist the schools themselves, and thus the hospital patients who are now carrying the burden; it is not enough to grant scholarships to selected students, since the essential problem is not a dearth of candidates but the financial burden upon the institutions and their patients.

The third basic principle is that the aid should be made as widely and equally available as possible to all of the schools, so that it will help to meet the problem as it exists on a broad front.

The bill I am introducing would provide Federal grants of \$200 per student per year, provided that the States matched these grants with amounts ranging from \$50 to \$100, depending upon the wealth of the State.

The program would be administered by the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, who would approve plans for participating States. If an entire State did not wish to participate, it could permit participation by localities which might choose to do so. The aid would be limited to schools licensed or approved by the State, and so far as possible would be made available to all such schools within the State or the locality.

My proposal would assist the degree-granting collegiate schools as well as the diploma-granting hospital schools. Both types of schools are essential and both need assistance.

The proposal is limited to the financing of the education. I felt it was unnecessary to include any provisions for the construction of schools of nursing because I believe this would complicate the proposal, and more importantly, because the Federal Government through the Hill-Burton grant-in-aid program is already assisting in the construction of facilities needed by such schools.

I also thought it unnecessary to provide any funds for scholarships to students on the basis either of individual merit or individual need, since the prob-

lem is one of the cost to the institution rather than any lack of applicants for the courses.

I present this bill as a basis for discussion, and I hope that hearings may more fully acquaint Congress with the problem and enable us to develop legislation which may soon be enacted.

WHAT ARE WE WAITING FOR?

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD and include extraneous material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the subject of the Federal Government's role in transportation is one of continuing interest and concern. It is a subject of such complexity and importance as to be deserving of serious study and evaluation by each of us.

Recently, Mr. Anthony Arpaia, an extremely able public servant, retired from membership on the Interstate Commerce Commission after 8 years of service. Mr. Arpaia, who at one time served as Chairman of the Commission, is recognized for his knowledge of, and ability to penetrate, the problems related to this complex field.

On March 11, 1960, Mr. Arpaia made his last speech as a member of the Commission. Speaking before the Chicago chapter of ICC Practitioners at the Palmer House Hotel, Chicago, Ill., he outlined his thoughts on the problems facing public transportation and his ideas about what should be done to solve them.

This was an important speech, Mr. Speaker, because in it Mr. Arpaia brought together the experiences and observations of almost a decade of active participation in the government-transportation relationship. This speech capulized the ideas of a very competent person on what we are and are not doing and what we should do to permit the full realization of the public transportation potential.

It is unfortunate that this was Mr. Arpaia's final speech as a member of the Commission. He was a fine and able public servant. He had a particular ability for cutting through irrelevancy to find the heart of a problem. A keen mind, equipped with a thorough knowledge of transportation, made Mr. Arpaia a real asset to the Commission and to the Nation. We all will miss him, but he has our gratitude for a job well done.

At this point in the RECORD, I would like to insert Mr. Arpaia's speech, "What Are We Waiting For?" I recommend it to all Americans as a remarkable analysis of public transportation and government regulation of it. A provocative document, indeed.

The speech follows:

WHAT ARE WE WAITING FOR?

(Address of Anthony Arpaia, member, Interstate Commerce Commission, before the Chicago chapter of ICC Practitioners, Palmer House Hotel, Chicago, Ill., March 11, 1960)

Because of my experience of only 2 months as a Commissioner, when I made my first

talk before the New York chapter of the Practitioners' Association on September 17, 1962, I chose to speak in the capacity of a dues-paying member of your association. Now I shall summarize some previously expressed views as a Commissioner. It will be my last occasion to talk in that capacity. Beginning next Wednesday, whenever I stay up until the wee hours of the morning, it will be because I am engaged in a hot game of cribbage, hearts, or gin rummy; and, if I work on weekends, it will be in my garden.

As I look back and review the past 8 years, it seems to me that substantially the same problems that were with us then are still with us. I won't catalog them. You know them as well as I do. First I shall ask: Hasn't the Government itself contributed to the exercise in frustration which characterizes some aspects of public transportation? If so, what can be done to help develop a system of public transportation in this country which serves the public and national interest?

I shall state some basic premises:

1. That transportation from a public aspect is a single problem although made up of many parts and it should be treated in a unified manner by the Government.

2. That the economic regulation of transportation by the Federal Government should be correlated so that there will be a single direction and policy by the major regulatory agencies. It is now divided principally between the ICC, the CAB, and the Maritime Board.

3. That all other Government nonregulatory activities affecting transportation, such as location and construction of facilities and other Federal assistance programs, should conform to a basic, overall, coordinated plan, whether applicable to air transportation, railroads, highways, rivers, and harbors.

4. That the responsibility and action in the various committees of the Congress should be likewise correlated.

5. That the collection of data and statistics should be organized and centralized. One of the principal deficiencies to appropriate Government action at any level is lack of sufficient information. There is a vital need for research and statistics to provide the basic facts and figures so that the regulatory, planning, administrative, and enforcement job can be performed with a sense of direction and without waste. In this connection allow me to point out that, at present, at least 40 different Government agencies are engaged in some kind of transportation research and compilation of data and we still don't have all the facts and statistics which are needed.

6. That the structure and procedures of the independent agencies affecting transportation should be reformed so that they can perform their proper functions with consistency, efficiency, and expedition.

7. That the cost to the taxpayer to support such amorphous, confusing, ineffectual, and duplicative Government activities, and the direct expense to individual parties who must deal with the present conglomeration of agencies, should be reduced without delay by grouping these activities into three separate agencies with the scope of their activities and jurisdiction clearly defined: (1) Planning, (2) economic regulation, and (3) administrative or executive.

8. That the functions of Government in the economic regulatory area properly belong to the Congress and should be exercised through an independent instrumentality which would continue to report directly to the Congress without executive interference and influence. As Justice Holmes pointed out, ratemaking is legislative in kind.

There may be some who will disagree with these general propositions, but I doubt that they are familiar or close to the contemporary problems of transportation. If I had time I could again document each one of

them in more detail. However, within the limits of time available to me, I will develop as far as I can the general thesis that, to the extent that Government participation may be necessary, transportation should be treated as a unified whole. The present methods obviously have proved to be wasteful and ineffectual.

A good place to start is with the Interstate Commerce Act itself, which covers the large field of surface transportation, since, in my opinion, the structure of the law as presently constituted may be partly responsible for the divisive forces which weaken transportation. I don't mean by this that the act has not been changed in an attempt to meet new developments as they arose. In fact, it has been amended about 200 times since its origin. Nevertheless, the Interstate Commerce Act as it is now constituted resembles a patchwork quilt. The reason is that, in the last 40 years, practically every amendment has been made under the stress of emergency. Pieces were added to meet the problems of the moment, with little regard for consistency, uniformity, and harmony. There was no opportunity for the development of a congruous plan of legislation.

This was not true in the beginning. To use a simile—a structure was engineered in the 1880's to fit the conditions which existed at that time. After several years of careful evaluation of conditions, circumstances, and needs of the public, a plan of regulation was devised. The shell of the structure was finally erected in 1887. It was perfected by subsequent legislation, without disturbing the original design, up until the First World War.

Since 1920, a job of patching has been performed, when changed conditions required. The present law, therefore, is a bizarre accumulation of additions to the structure. As you know, the law now consists of five parts, four of which separately treat a major segment of transportation. Some parts don't fit the original design at all. A few pieces are modern and useful, others have become obsolete and unnecessary. I think the lack of a single basic uniform law has heightened the difficulties facing public transportation ever since competitive forms of transportation were brought under regulation. If there was justification for separate treatment then, times have changed.

Some of the inequalities in the law are not of major consequence. Nevertheless, they psychologically operate to create a feeling of unfairness, part real, and part fancied. There are other inconsistencies and inequalities which are more fundamental and which do not foster the public purposes of regulation. I won't list them but will give a ready example or two insofar as they unequally affect the public: It is difficult to justify affording no redress to a shipper for past unlawful charges merely because he uses a motor carrier, while giving a rail shipper the right of reparation for unreasonable charges on past shipments; or to permit a motor carrier to be free to route traffic on interline movements over a more expensive route, contrary to shipper's routing instructions, while a rail carrier who does not follow routing instructions of a shipper does so at his peril.

We talk about integration or coordination of the various kinds of transportation, but a prerequisite is the integration of the laws affecting them. I think the time is overdue for a comprehensive overhaul of the act. Transportation in all of its forms is a single fabric and presents but a major single problem.

The entire law should be reviewed and rewritten with an eye to formulating a practical and workable scheme for the regulation of all transportation, including air. There may still be sound reasons for some separate treatment of each form, but each such

deviation should be justified. The present parts of the law are unrelated to the other. They were written almost as if the other forms of transportation did not exist. Realities of the transportation requirements of our economy do not permit regulating transportation in isolation, and that is what we have now.

There are many worshippers of the status quo. They will not concede that in the long run they and the country and the economy might be better off with some reorientation of the Government's role in transportation. They insist that established patterns are safe. Safe for whom? Those who resist any improvement or change resort to the convenient escape: "In spite of defects, things are not too bad—freight and people are being moved and the economy of the country has not suffered." The need for improvement becomes obscured by the attitude of self-interest groups, competitive tensions, and political pressures against a background of public apathy.

But Government action in the field of regulation, if it is to be continued at all, is serious business and has a vital purpose.

The fact that the use of public transportation is not proportionate to the quantity of freight moved in this country is a danger sign for all forms of regulated transportation. To the extent that the law is responsible, however slightly, it ought to be corrected if we are to preserve and encourage economic stability for public transportation as one of the basic segments of our economy.

Government interest is not intended to comfort the afflicted or afflict the comfortable. It is to provide an efficient and economical transportation system to meet the commercial and defense needs in this country. Perhaps an ideally perfect law will not result but the force of common sense could supplement its inadequacies as time goes on. Unless the beginning is made soon, the deterioration of public transportation may become so aggravated that more drastic measures will follow.

The present attitude of the carrier industry toward competition is truly unique. It is fostered by the law itself. The big central problem is hidden by the emotional and spontaneous outcries of self-interest which the law itself engenders. Competition normally means that one tries to develop a service or a product which is better than that of its competitor at the lowest possible price. The normal aim is to obtain consumer satisfaction and to produce a profit. In transportation, competitors, following the alinement they are given in the law, have placed less emphasis on improving service and more emphasis on impeding, obstructing and defeating any such purpose or ambition on the part of a competitor. It is unnecessary to point out that such obstructionism has proved to be of no productive value to either the participants, the general public, or the economy.

There should be competition because it is necessary for progress and is in the public interest. But the competition must be such as to preserve competitors, not efface them. The millennium will come when one combination of services of various forms will compete with another such combination. I was hoping to see this happen before I left the Commission, but I have been disappointed.

At present the problem has always struck me as a curious and explosive mixture of unscientific economics and human relations. Any step which can eliminate frictions and dissension should be undertaken. Setting up an appropriate governmental structure to handle the several aspects of the problem, as I shall point out later, and creating more perspective by means of a basic law affecting all of them equally to the extent possible will help.

Regardless of whether or how soon the law is restated and reformed, the machinery of regulation should be improved as soon as possible.

As far back as 1941, the Commission, in its annual report, said:

"So great is the volume of business to be transacted by a Federal administrative agency like the Commission that extensive delegation of authority is an obvious necessity. * * * More and more it is becoming difficult for members of the Commission to avoid becoming buried in an avalanche of detail and to find time for the thorough study and constructive thought which ought to be given to the major issues which come before it."

I only ask: How many times greater is the mass of detail borne by Commissioners today?

The Commission's organization should be geared to handle the economic problems of transportation expeditiously and well. To do so Commissioners must be relieved of trivia, in addition to duties which are inconsistent with the performance of the Commission's real mission as stated in the national transportation policy. It should stop treating every matter, however insignificant, with the same time-consuming formalism which it should accord only to matters of policy and major importance. There are several procedural changes which can be made to decrease delay. These are now and have been under study. The practitioners, through their advisory council, can give them a push.

Furthermore, many more specific functions could be delegated to boards of employees, or even to single employees if section 17 of the Interstate Commerce Act were amended to so provide. Besides staff-processing, Commissioners and their examiners now give time and attention to many matters which can have no perceptible impact on the economics of transportation.

Let me give only a couple of extreme examples. Almost 20 years after the Commission had warned that its growing volume of business made extensive delegation of authority a necessity, even such things as the simple withdrawal of a complaint or application still requires the preparation of the draft of an order of dismissal by a bureau, a recommendation in an accompanying memorandum, and approval by a Commissioner. A voluntary request by a carrier for revocation of his authority makes the rounds the same way and must be acted upon by division I. With the burning problems before the Commission, this paper shuffling and waste of time and manpower is inexcusable.

In the same year in which the Commission's annual report called attention to the need for more delegation of authority, former Commissioner Aitchison, speaking before the ICC Practitioners' annual meeting in New York, said: "The members of the Commission daily are confronted with an enormous volume of administrative detail which insistently demands from them a wholly disproportionate part of their time, attention, interest and energy."

Experience has shown that when authority and responsibility for performance of administrative duties are divided among several coequal executives, inefficiency, waste, delays, poor coordination and poor programming result. This can be cured by separating from the ICC such functions as policing, enforcement, safety, education, collection of statistics and accounting.

I don't know what Commissioner Aitchison included when he referred to administrative duties, but let me emphasize that when I talk about administrative matters, I am not talking about housekeeping. Every organization needs a housekeeper to take care of budget, personnel, space: to furnish the

pencils or paper clips, so to speak. I am talking about substantial and important administrative functions. These are sometimes called executive functions. They are not suitably performed by a broad-type organization. The contribution men of the stature of Commissioners can make, individually and collectively, is by the exercise of independence of thought and expertness of judgment in the decision of matters involving substantial economic problems affecting the welfare of the public and the carriers.

The separation of administrative from quasi-judicial functions also will have an important bearing on the effectiveness of economic regulation. Let me give you an example. The Commission has developed the strict judicial approach. Some think that it has been overdone. Nevertheless, it usually waits for parties to come in and decides each matter on a record, good or bad, without regard to its effect on the public or on transportation. When it does institute an investigation on the theory that the situation involved is important and critical, it simply sets the matter down for a hearing and depends on shippers, carriers and other interested parties to furnish the facts. Often the investigation flops not because the basis for the investigation has evaporated but merely because an unsatisfactory record is made. Yet the act places an affirmative duty upon the Commission to protect the public interest and keep transportation sound.

The fault is not entirely that of the Commission. Under the Administrative Procedure Act, it cannot and should not play the role of party and arbiter at the same time. To authorize its own employees to take a position in the case would come close to doing so. It has no public counsel. Therefore, the best it could do is to place in the record official statistics and information under the doctrine of official notice. This might require further hearing and more delay since the record has already been made before the matter reaches the Commissioners.

If the administrative functions were separated, the administrator could come in as a party and the making of an adequate record would be assured. It is for this reason that the assignment to the administrator should include what is now the entire operations of the Bureau of Economics and Statistics and the Bureau of Accounts, including its Section of Cost Finding, so that he will be equipped to make a record.

In conclusion, let me say a word about a planning agency. Planning, especially when it is fostered by Government, is sometimes considered a dirty word. Its connotation is that we are dealing with a socialized state. On the other hand, without intelligent planning, disorganization, overlapping and confusion follow. Public transportation has now reached a turning point. A growing America needs a completely modern transportation network by rail, motor, water, and air.

Highways and airports are being constructed without relation to each other or to existing facilities whether water or rail. Operating authority is being granted in a vacuum. There is no overall plan—just a churning out of grants piece by piece with insufficient knowledge of the existing pattern or of their relationship to the whole transport picture. Railways, highways, waterways, airways, pipelines, and other means of transportation under way or still to be devised are now being constructed and located as separate entities. They all should fit into an overall scheme in which each form of transportation efficiently and economically supplements, complements, and supports the other.

The planning now is distributed among several agencies of the Government. It

should be centralized in order to provide a sound and orderly growth of all public transportation in the public interest. The programs for airport location, river and harbor improvements, highway location and construction, and rail assistance should be coordinated and related to the present use and prospective demand. Before they are undertaken, there should be a unified and comprehensive appraisal of how each will fit into the total public welfare and thereby produce a substantial contribution to the national good. Proper coordination and adaptation of the various services will come about more readily with such correlation.

It will require real strength of purpose and real moral courage by all concerned with the project, but, in my judgment, only if steps such as I have outlined in a general fashion are taken can expensive duplication of services and wasteful competition be subordinated to the ultimate benefit of all users of transportation and to the national defense. When this has been accomplished, we will no longer have the transportation problem which now faces the Nation. Then we can look forward more confidently to the adequacy of public transportation for a flourishing and expanding economy.

MADISON AVENUE, USP

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the promotion of prescription drugs and medicines in this country costs the staggering sum of between \$250 million and \$300 million annually. There is only one answer to the question, Who pays for this greatest medicine show on earth? It is America's sick.

During recent investigations of the high price of prescriptions, drug manufacturers said little about their extravagant promotional campaigning responsible for cruel and unnecessary hikes in the price of their products. Attempting to drown out this static, they rapped loudly on their beakers and piously announced, "We're spending \$194 million this year for research." Admittedly, research is a necessary and proper factor in the retail price of their products. But what is the morality of factoring in another \$250 million to \$300 million for extravagant promotion? Some expense must be incurred to advise physicians of the availability of new health-giving, life-giving drugs. But common humanity would seem to dictate that drug manufacturers should be bound to the same ethical standard in purifying the cost of their products from promotional extravagance as binds them to assuring their chemical purity.

At least two dozen advertising agencies specialize in the promotion of ethical drugs. Some have staffs ranging from 50 to 250 "men in grey flannel suits" and supporting personnel, including M.D. consultants. Research and development of terramycin cost about \$4 million, but the first 2 years terramycin was on the market, the manufacturer reportedly spent \$7½ million for advertising and promotion. This \$7½

million did not come out of a pump. It could only, and did in fact, come out of the pockets of ill or injured persons for whom the drug was prescribed.

The prescription pitch aimed solely at the Nation's physicians is as varied and enterprising as it is expensive. Its cost is further multiplied by drug industry practices of (a) marketing an identical drug under several trade names, and (b) marketing the same drug under different potencies or slightly different formulas, to which different trade names are given.

It is my purpose today to review some of the more blatant promotional abuses and to propose a solution.

Journal advertising: About 5,000 medical journals appear annually in the United States. Their pages are jammed with drug advertising, some of which has been described by Dr. Louis Lasagna, chief of clinical pharmacology at Johns Hopkins University, as "downright sleazy." Dr. Lasagna objects particularly to ads containing scissored quotes from medical manuscripts which leave in the "pros" for a product, but scissor out the "cons."

Detail men: The drug industry employs around 20,000 representatives whose only job is to call on physicians and tell them the real or alleged merits of their employers' products. Although some physicians refuse to see detail men at all, many physicians see up to five per week. Each call takes about 10 minutes and the cost, passed along in drug price, is about \$12 per call. Assuming the correctness of these figures, the drug industry could be spending up to \$3,000 per year per doctor on the detail men's call lists.

Mailers: The average doctor receives more than 50 pieces of advertising mail from pharmaceutical companies each week, or over 2,600 pieces a year. The barrage includes expensive colored brochures, reprints of medical papers mentioning a drug by trade name, ad reprints, and similar type materials. In a recent issue of the AMA news, one doctor wrote:

It is difficult for me, a psychiatrist, whose name has appeared in the directory of medical specialists for years, to understand why I should be deluged with circulars and samples intended to promote the sale of drugs intended to cure or relieve skin conditions, peptic ulcers, "lazy bowel," and a variety of other ailments. Since thousands of other physicians must be subjected to the same barrage, the cost of this waste must be consequential.

Gimmicks: But the barker's barrage is not limited to mere pieces of paper. Not long ago doctors of the Nation received expensive and beautifully mounted butterflyes in the mail from one pharmaceutical house—not as an apt reminder for stomach pills, but with literature comparing them to an antibiotic, and claiming both to be "unique in nature." One drug house sent the Nation's doctors red golf balls to remind them of its large, red "cold" pill. Doctors are swamped with such gimmicks as fountain pens, desk calendars, desk decorations—example, miniature skeletons—and even pencils attached to tiny bedside urinals.

Sample: Mailing drug samples to doctors is a heavily used advertising device. When the antibiotic aureomycin was placed on the market, its manufacturer reportedly mailed out \$2 million worth of samples to more than 140,000 physicians.

Pill payola: Luncheons, dinners, cocktail parties, prizes for tournaments, and the like are other reported promotional expense items for drug firms. There is not a single record of any doctor's prescription having been influenced in this manner. Thus, whether or not the practice is questionable from an ethical standpoint is immaterial. What is material is that its effectiveness as a promotional device is nil and therefore a wholly unwarranted factor in the consumer's ultimate drug bill.

Trade names: The same identical drug is often advertised and promoted by different firms under different trade names. Example, the antibiotic tetracycline is marketed under at least five different trade names, Achromycin—Lederle, Panmycin—Upjohn, Polycycline—Bristol, Steclin—Squibb, and Tetracyclin—Pfizer. Not only has each of these firms conducted separate and parallel promotion campaigns for this only single drug, but because pharmacists cannot substitute the same drug labeled by a different trade name when a doctor's prescription specifies one trade name, pharmacies all over the country must stock a drug not once, but as many times as there are different trade names for it. This very considerable unwarranted expense also finds its way into the prescription prices paid by the sick. Multiplicity in trade names occurs not only from different firms engaging in production of a drug, but from one firm manufacturing and selling it retail under one trade name, while selling it in wholesale quantities to one or more additional drug firms for packaging and sale under the latter's different trade names. It also occurs by the same firm bringing out the same drug under slightly different potencies or slightly different formulas. Example, a company brings out a drug called Bigshow. Then alters a chemical bond in the drug and starts promoting its chemical relative under a new trade name like Reallybigshow. Physicians may then be told that Reallybigshow is "more potent" than Bigshow because only 10 milligram dosages are required for Reallybigshow compared to 100 milligrams for Bigshow, notwithstanding that both do the same job at their respective dosages.

Regarding all these serious extra burdens on the sick, Dr. Austin Smith, president of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association said:

Unquestionably enthusiasm in promotional efforts can get out of hand at times. The important thing is that members of the pharmaceutical industry are setting up increased controls to insure the presentation of facts.

They may be setting up controls, but none is obvious at this point. "Pharmaceutical industry, heal thyself," is an appropriate current-day adaption of an old adage. And, adding "do it quickly" also seems appropriate. For if that industry fails to do it, and do it quickly, it can

be assured that the patience of the American people is approaching the exhaustion point where it will be done for them by legislation.

I have in mind relatively simple means whereby healing processes can be imposed on the industry quickly and efficiently by statute. The doubling, trebling, and even further multiplication of the cost of introducing the same precise new drug to physicians under a variety of different trade names and other extravagant practices can be wiped out by the stroke of a legislative pen requiring standardization of drug names and prohibiting slight variations in composition or strength to be subject to re-promotion. Such listing and regulations might easily be compiled and policed by the U.S. Public Health Service, the Food and Drug Administration, or other appropriate Federal agency. Meanwhile the American Medical Association might take on the worthwhile project of getting its members to write prescriptions in terms of drug name rather than trade name.

What I am actually seeking to do by bringing the various facts out that I have today is to point up to the pharmaceutical industry the desirability of setting up its own drug czar in the pattern of the motion picture, baseball, and football industries. Self-imposed discipline, standardized pharmacopoeia, and ethical standards could be adopted and enforced by the czar, aiming at the same purity in pricing drugs as there is in manufacturing them. I believe the moral obligation for the industry to do so is clear and undeniable.

If it does not do so, and unless Dr. Smith's promises are backed by performance and reforms extend further than to the most obviously outrageous and extravagant practices now current, it is my intention to introduce and seek passage of legislation compelling the industry to make the reforms it shall have failed to make as a matter of self-discipline and moral obligation.

The details of drug promotion malpractices upon which my remarks today are based appeared in a series of three articles in the Long Beach Independent-Press Telegram written by Mr. Ben Zinser. For the information of my colleagues who wish to refer to these sources, I have asked unanimous consent that they appear in today's RECORD.

Mr. Zinser is an able, experienced, and highly regarded writer on medical subjects. Both he and his publishers have done the country a distinct service in publicizing these facts for the public. I agree fully with Mr. Zinser's belief that promotion plays a necessary part in bringing new and useful drugs to the attention of the medical profession. It is the excesses, the extravagance, the poor judgment, and the lack of fundamental ethics in which the drug industry indulges itself in this regard that are objected to on behalf of all who must, necessarily, purchase its products.

NATIONAL LOTTERY IN AMERICA

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, while we persist in raising moral, social, and economic objections to the enactment of a national lottery in America, our foreign neighbors continue to make hay with their own government-run lotteries.

The recent worldwide sale of tickets for the 98th Irish Sweepstake is a very good example. The total gross receipts for last Saturday's sweepstake were a record high of \$17,134,852.

Of this amount, Mr. Speaker, \$9,761,920 went for prizes, \$3,154,320 for building and improving hospital facilities, and \$1,051,439 for the Irish Government.

A few million dollars will come back to the United States bringing great joy and happiness to some lucky ticketholders. But these people will learn, very shortly, that the Federal Government will become their partner to the tune of 60 percent or better. Also, the State governments will step in and claim their tax share.

This big Government grab raises these questions: What happens to the sanctimonious attitude the Government has about gambling? What about the so-called economic, social, and moral issues leveled against gambling revenue? Does hypocrisy permit and allow the Government to play a double role?

Mr. Speaker, I think we have carried this hypocrisy too far. The time has come to remove the blinders and recognize the indisputable fact that the urge to gamble is deeply ingrained in most human beings and that we should start to regulate and control this natural desire for our own benefit.

By proper supervision and control, a national lottery would not only cut off the flow of billions of dollars now siphoned off by the racketeers and gamblers in the United States and by foreign-run lotteries, but we would also bring \$10 billion a year in additional revenue to our Government Treasury.

Mr. Speaker, if we stopped this pussyfooting and showed some good American horse sense; if we tie the gambling spirit of the American people together with the Government's need for revenue, we can, with a national lottery, bring pleasure to our taxpayers and financial gain to our Treasury.

EXTENSIVE PRACTICE OF "PAYOLA"

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, in recent days I, like many of my colleagues, have had the opportunity to meet with a number of responsible citizens who are delegates to the White House Conference on Children and Youth. During the course of our conversations, I have noted that many of these good people are deeply concerned about a very serious problem

which can be resolved by the combined action of the Federal Communications Commission and persons who have been granted the privilege of broadcasting to the American people. We are all aware that radio and television licensees, in addition to the right to make substantial profits, have the duty to act in the public interest.

The hearings held by the well-known subcommittee chaired by the very capable gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HARRIS] and the investigations by the Federal Trade Commission have revealed many things, not the least of which is the extensive practice of commercial bribery known as "payola." Perhaps the most insidious effect of this conduct is best realized in the knowledge that a few paltry dollars have bought a widespread type of demoralizing influence. Not only have the American people been deceived, but the captive audience of our youth has been exposed to a type of sensuous music that is hardly fit for impressionable minds.

I feel confident that the majority of the broadcasting industry have refused to participate in such practices. I am also aware that the FCC is presently engaged in a rulemaking proceeding to require the licensees to avoid certain situations, yet I am somewhat apprehensive that the present FCC policy is ineffective with regard to the licensees whose employees have been engaged in this demoralizing practice.

On March 4, the Honorable Earl W. Kintner, chairman of the FTC, testified that his Commission up to then had found evidence of "payola" in 56 cities. No mention was made of the number of licensees involved. Presently the FCC is calling to task only those licensees listed by the FTC, whose license renewals are up for consideration. We all know that time dampens enthusiasm and I wonder how vigorously this problem will be pursued with licensees whose renewals will not be considered for months or years to come?

Therefore, in order to determine how much responsibility will be assured by the possible numerous licensees listed in the FTC report to the FCC, I have suggested that letters be sent to these licensees by the FCC advising them that evidence has been obtained of "payola" involving their employees. The FCC letter, I feel, should require an immediate reply from the licensees requiring them to state the actual steps being taken to prevent further deceit and demoralizing influence over our youth.

The following is a copy of my letter of today to the chairman of the FCC:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., March 31, 1960.
Hon. FREDERICK W. FORD,
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Like many people, I have followed with interest several matters of widespread news coverage pertaining to the very distasteful practices pursued by a group of people who have blatantly perverted the communication privilege granted by the Federal Government to be used in the public interest.

As a result of a series of discussions with a number of delegates presently in Wash-

ington for the White House Youth Conference, I find my own beliefs to be in agreement with theirs. There appears to be great concern for the very serious moral consequences that have been brought about by the practice known as "payola." The impact of rock and roll music on the maturing minds of a captive teenage audience can only be measured in a cultural decay of the years to come.

We are all aware of the passing fads experienced in different generations. My comments are not to be considered as a condemnation of our modern youth because theirs has been a circumstance far beyond their control. The trash which has been played on radio by some unscrupulous disc jockeys in return for under-the-table payments by some equally obnoxious record manufacturers and distributors, can have but a singularly disgusting effect on a captured audience.

The responsibility of preventing these practices rests with the Federal Communications Commission as an arm of the Congress. I noticed during the testimony taken by the Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight, chaired by the distinguished and able gentleman from Kansas, Mr. HARRIS, that the Honorable Earl W. Kintner, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, testified on March 4, 1960, that the FTC had found evidence of payola in 56 cities. It has also come to my attention that the FTC has, or is, supplying your Commission with the names of the employees and the licensees involved and that the FCC is examining the replies to your inquiries from licensees and comparing it with the information provided by the FTC at the time of a licensee's application for renewal.

Since license renewal applications are staggered over a 3-year period on a geographical basis, is it not possible that in several months' time there will be less enthusiasm in pressing the extent of this practice with licensees named by the FTC? Therefore, I strongly urge that as a matter of responsible action the FCC immediately communicate with the licensees whose employees were named by the FTC as having received payola and inquire of these licensees what actual steps are being taken by them now to prevent the continuance of these practices.

I would appreciate a brief analysis of the replies by these licensees without reference to their identity. This analysis should include:

1. How many licensees whose employees were named by the FTC denied payola activities in their letter to the FCC?

2. Is the FCC accepting at face value the assurances of the named licensees that they are presently preventing these practices even though they previously assured the FCC that the practices were not going on?

3. What worthwhile safeguards are being taken by the licensees in this group? Please specify the safeguards.

The purpose of these questions is, of course, to assure my colleagues and myself that every possible step is being taken now to examine these practices and their demoralizing effect on the youth of America.

Your reply, as is this letter, will be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of all Members.

Sincerely,

THOMAS P. O'NEILL, Jr.,
Member of Congress.

WAR BY MISCALCULATION

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oregon?

There was no objection.

Mr. PORTER. Mr. Speaker, war by miscalculation is far more probable than war by intentional act. Yet the administration is doing nothing constructive about this danger. And Defense Department policy fails to square with statements by the Secretary of State.

Thousands of nuclear warheads, most of them ready for instant dispatch and detonation, exist in the world today. All are in the hands of fallible human beings. An accidental or unauthorized nuclear explosion is not merely probable. It is inevitable.

The interpretation of such an explosion will be difficult. There will be no witnesses to interrogate and no wreckage to examine. How to turn back the planes, uncock missiles and call off the resulting alert is a real problem which deserves intensive research and study.

The editor of Parade magazine recently suggested a "hot line" between the Kremlin and the White House as a useful safeguard. Constant communication could be important but how, under conditions as they are today, could either side rely on the words spoken by the other? Other measures must be devised and adopted—and without delay.

In the March 5, 1960, issue of The Nation I discussed my reasons for feeling our Nation must take the leadership in disarmament before the finale of the missile race results in a barren globe.

We are smart enough to survive but time is terrifyingly short. The task is tremendous. In the article I concluded:

An ever-increasing number of devoted men and women are responding to the unprecedented challenge of unprecedented weapons. That gives me faith that we frail human beings and our free nations will not, for a while anyway, perish from this earth.

The article "Accident or Aggression" evoked thoughtful responses from men and women in many parts of the Nation.

Here are a few comments:

My husband and I find it heartening that some voices are raised in warning. We also welcome your positive proposals toward a world law by strengthening the United Nations and your stand for the repeal of the Connally reservation in order to increase the effectiveness of the International Court of Justice.

This is, indeed, a most frightening sobering statement but it should be read by every American * * * you wisely point out the error plays a large part in the danger that confronts us.

Your excellent article "Accident or Aggression," in March 5 Nation deserves a hearty thank you from every American citizen. * * * Wishing you much success in your efforts to stimulate interest in a sane policy on disarmament.

These excerpted remarks pretty well summarize the letters I have received since The Nation article was published. The letters come from citizens who are ready to fight for peace.

The fight means that we must reaffirm our freedom by making sure we are making the best use of our minds. To do this we must provide the tools: education, research, language, technical know-how and the other items which placed together mean a fruitful way of life for all.

Documenting and enlarging upon the above assertions are the following correspondence between myself and Herbert B. Loper, Assistant to the Secretary of Defense—Atomic Energy; the full text of "Accident or Aggression" article by myself, *Nation*, March 5, 1960; editorial by George G. Kirstein, same issue, *Nation*; and various letters I have received commenting upon my article:

JANUARY 29, 1960.

HON. THOMAS S. GATES, JR.,
Secretary of Defense,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I would like to inquire whether the Department of Defense is making any studies in connection with the question of accidental or unauthorized nuclear explosions as a possible or probable cause of war. If there are such studies I should like to have the reports made available to me. If there are not, I should like to urge that such studies be made particularly with reference to the problem of what measures can be taken to prevent misinterpretation of an accidental nuclear explosion.

The situation I have in mind is this: Thousands of nuclear weapons exist in the world today. Most of them are ready for instant detonation. All are in the hands of fallible human beings and under these circumstances it is probable that there will be an accidental or unauthorized explosion. When this occurs I am informed that we will go on our highest condition of alert and, probably within 20 minutes, the Soviet Union will do the same thing.

Even if we are convinced that the explosion was an accident, not the precursor of an all-out attack, what proper assurance can we get in this situation that the Soviet Union will order its planes to turn around and, in effect, uncork its guided missiles system?

It seems to me that this situation gets worse as the manned bombers give way to missiles and the decision times get shorter and shorter.

I suggest, as I have suggested before, that the Defense Department should immediately embark on a public relations program to inform our citizens and the world that accidental or unauthorized nuclear explosions are probable despite elaborate safeguards. In my opinion the public today believes that an accidental or unauthorized nuclear explosion is only remotely possible. This has been the impression fostered both by your department and by the AEC. Under the circumstances, therefore, and quite apart from the question of whether a war would result, there is a substantial chance that there would be considerable panic in the United States, especially in the cities, in the event of an unauthorized or accidental nuclear explosion.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

CHARLES O. PORTER,
Member of Congress.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., February 12, 1960.

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PORTER: Your letter of January 29, 1960, on the question of accidental or unauthorized nuclear explosions has been referred to me. As explained in detail below, studies are made covering each weapon system upon which safety rules and procedures are based. Since these studies include classified technical details it is not possible to pass them to you in this unclassified correspondence. Representative safety rules have been provided the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and it may be possible for you to make arrangements with the staff of that committee to review them.

In developing the safety rules, each of the nuclear weapons systems is analyzed in com-

plete detail by the most qualified personnel available to the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission. Safety analyses are a continuing process beginning as early as possible in the development of the weapons system and continuing throughout its life.

While I do not wish to minimize the consequences of such an accident if it should occur, I do want to assure you that the possibility of a nuclear explosion through accident or deliberate human act or system malfunctions is extremely remote. This statement of possibility represents the sincere opinion of those officials responsible for reviewing the detailed safety studies conducted on each weapons system employing a nuclear warhead or bomb. Safety rules for each system are the result of the conclusions and findings of the detailed studies and are the rigid enforcing regulations governing the handling and use of the system.

It is mandatory that the safety rules on each system meet the following standards:

(1) There will be positive measures to prevent weapons involved in accidents or incidents or jettisoned weapons from producing a nuclear yield.

(2) There will be positive measures to prevent deliberate arming, launching, firing or releasing except when directed by the proper authority.

(3) There will be positive measures to prevent inadvertent arming, launching, firing or releasing.

(4) There will be positive measures to insure adequate security.

I am inclosing two statements on the subject which continue to accurately portray the danger to the public that may be expected from an atomic accident.

Sincerely yours,

HERBERT B. LOPEL,
Assistant to the Secretary of Defense
(Atomic Energy).

FEBRUARY 23, 1960.

HON. HERBERT B. LOPEL,
Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Atomic Energy), Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Thank you for your letter of February 12. There has never been any doubt in my mind that all possible care in the handling of nuclear weapons was provided for in the regulations and was intended by the persons responsible. Where we disagree is with regard to your statement that "the possibility of a nuclear explosion through accident or deliberate human act or system malfunction is extremely remote." I refer you to Secretary Herter's speech February 18 before the National Press Club, particularly the portion where he refers to miscalculations that result in war "without either side really intending that this should happen."

Regardless of our disagreement in this respect, I should appreciate your commenting on what plans the Defense Department has to prevent such an explosion from triggering a war. I particularly refer you to my letter of January 29 and specifically the last sentence of the second paragraph and the last three paragraphs in the letter.

I should also like to repeat my request for information as to any studies which are being made with regard to accidental or unauthorized nuclear explosions as a possible or probable cause of war.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

CHARLES O. PORTER,
Member of Congress.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., March 3, 1960.

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. PORTER: I regret that my letter of February 12, 1960, replying to yours of January 29, 1960, failed to cover two points raised in your letter.

With respect to plans for preventing an accidental or unauthorized explosion from triggering a war, it appears that the concern here is that the detonation of a nuclear weapon by accident or through deliberate human act would precipitate retaliatory action on the part of the injured party without adequate investigation as to the cause or source of the act. Obviously, the Department of Defense cannot control the reaction of some other country to such an event. We firmly believe, however, that our own directives and procedures, which require the transmission of positive orders of the President through secure command channels, preclude the possibility of such precipitative action on the part of the United States. In other words, positive directives, rather than plans, issued to and thoroughly understood by all commands preclude any retaliatory action with nuclear weapons on the part of our military forces without the specific authority of the President.

In brief, our effort has been focused on—

(a) Safety in design features; limited and controlled access to weapons; personnel selection; physical security, and handling procedures to provide maximum insurance against an accidental or unauthorized detonation. The effectiveness of these measures is under constant scrutiny in the interests of continuing improvement.

(b) Positive command controls to insure against precipitate action in the event of an accidental or unauthorized detonation no matter how remote the possibility of such an event.

I have noted that portion of Secretary Herter's speech before the National Press Club on February 18, 1960, to which you have referred. While not attempting to interpret the reference to "miscalculation," I would consider the term to have a much broader meaning than "reaction to an accidental or an unauthorized detonation." In any case, I consider it impossible that the Department of Defense might "miscalculate" the cause of an accidental or unauthorized detonation and initiate retaliatory action without thorough investigation and positive instructions from higher authority based on a thorough analysis and understanding of the international situation.

To the best of my knowledge the Department of Defense is not undertaking any studies of the type to which you refer. There are, of course, a number of basic plans and directives in effect for dealing with nuclear weapon incidents and accidents, the purposes of which are to minimize the hazardous effects of such events and to insure immediate investigation and report of the cause and circumstances to higher authority. Typical of these is the inclosed chapter 6 of the USCONARC Basic Plan. Similar plans and instructions have been issued by the other services and by the unified and specified commands. While such plans and instructions do not deal directly with accidental or unauthorized explosions as a cause of war they do provide for prompt and thorough investigations of such events as a basis for appropriate decisions by competent authority.

Sincerely yours,

HERBERT B. LOPEL,
Assistant to the Secretary of Defense
(Atomic Energy).

[From the *Nation*, Mar. 5, 1960]

ACCIDENT OR AGGRESSION?

(By Charles O. Porter)

If you place six chimpanzees in a small room with a couple of baskets of live hand grenades, a minor catastrophe is inevitable. If you place error-prone human beings in proximity to thousands of nuclear weapons, a major catastrophe is inevitable and the triggering of an all-out massive exchange is probable.

Brigadier (Ret.) C. N. Barclay, British military expert, correctly describes the problem in the New York Times magazine of August 23, 1959, but he reaches the conclusion that the real danger is 10, 15, or 20 years ahead when many more nations possess nuclear weapons. The risk of a fatal mistake now, he thinks, is "much less than most people suppose."

I respectfully but emphatically dissent. In my opinion, the danger is now and it is extreme. As for what "most people" may suppose about the risk, I can only say I wish more people in and out of Government and the Military Establishment, thought about the situation at all.

Two attitudes, often not fully articulated, seem to predominate. One is that our atomic doom is inevitable and that nothing will avert it. The other is that something will turn up, as always. Both points of view provide ready excuses for doing nothing.

Barclay recognizes that while nobody wants a full-scale nuclear war, a war by "mistake" or "accident" is likely because of the "necessity for maintaining weapons of obliteration in instant readiness." He points out that this is an unprecedented situation for which history has little guidance. I agree with that definition of the situation, but I have to leave him when he seeks to minimize the risk of a mistake by stating that "we can be sure" missiles have to be made "live" by "teams under responsible leaders . . . especially selected . . . controlled by headquarters and highly trained staffs."

Barclay writes, "In these circumstances the chances of a mistake, although not entirely removed, are remote." He cannot conceive that one explosion could trigger a worldwide nuclear war, nor that a tactical atomic war could become a full-scale nuclear war. I think the cards are stacked now for vast destruction and death. The facts, simple and undisputed, add up, in my opinion, to world war III in the very near future as the result of an unauthorized or accidental nuclear explosion. This is the war nobody wants and everybody fears.

The facts can be stated in a few words. First, thousands of nuclear weapons, many of unthinkable power, exist today. Second, almost all of them are ready for instant detonation. Third, their custodians are human beings.

A nuclear explosion resulting from mechanical defect or inadvertence is only remotely possible, but the same is not true with respect to human fallibility. I discussed this matter last year with Herbert B. Loper, Assistant Defense Secretary for Atomic Energy. He agreed that, given the prevalence of such human errors and weaknesses as drunkenness, mental breakdown, misinterpretation, misguided idealism, venality or treason, an accidental nuclear explosion is probable.

Of course, precautions are taken to prevent accidental or unauthorized explosions; the regulations and safeguards are carefully and cunningly devised. But any rule ever devised by man can be circumvented by man. You can't legislate error and weakness out of humanity.

I saw for myself the operation of some of the safety procedures established to prevent the unauthorized dispatch of the Royal Air Force Thor missiles in England. Because these procedures are classified as secret by the Defense Department, I cannot describe how an apparently foolproof system was being wholly frustrated without malice or deceit on the part of anyone. These were able and honest men doing an important job but, as so often happens, they were blithely ignoring regulations calculated to prevent an irreparable disaster.

When I sought permission to describe the bypassing of these very procedures in this article, the Department of Defense, through its congressional liaison officer, expressed

great chagrin and surprise. The officer informed me that a complete investigation would be made immediately. There will be no one around to investigate violations that lead to an unauthorized firing.

Almost everybody knows that a gun, allegedly unloaded or not, is dangerous. Every day some person is wounded or killed by mis-handling these puny weapons. The custodians of the atomic weapons are error-prone mortals.

If you had been the marshal of Dodge City in its heyday you would have kept a loaded six-shooter handy. We, too, must keep our nuclear weapons handy, and you don't need to know the details to realize that they are poised for instant use. In fact, they are being modified to facilitate quick detonation. On October 28, 1957, Admiral Stump, supreme U.S. commander in the Pacific and Asia, affirmed that the United States must retaliate instantly, possibly with atomic weapons, at the first sign of Communist aggression anywhere in the world. The following month, the late Secretary Dulles stated that the order to shoot back in the event of an attack on NATO forces "like that on Pearl Harbor" would be given by the commanders "on the spot."

An explosion caused by a meteor has been mentioned as the possible occasion for confusion and misinterpretation leading to such an order in a world made tense by atomic warheads. And everybody knows that decision times are becoming shorter as countdowns for missiles are simplified or in some cases, reportedly in the Soviet Union, eliminated.

This brings us to the question of whether or not one accidental or unauthorized nuclear explosion would be likely to trigger the full-scale massive exchange. Brigadier Barclay wrote that he couldn't "conceive" of such a thing.

In December of 1957, I visited Strategic Air Command Headquarters in Nebraska and was briefed on this problem. Since then I have checked my conclusions many times with other high military officers in and out of the Pentagon. It is agreed that if there were a mystery atomic explosion which could not be identified either as an act of aggression or as an accidental or unauthorized explosion, our forces would immediately go into their highest condition of alert.

This means that the ready planes get off the ground and start heading for their targets. It means that other crews and planes are prepared with all speed to get off the ground. The count downs would start on our missiles and hold firm just this side of ignition. Of course, bases and missile sites would be the primary targets of the enemy.

If we were to go on our top alert, the Soviet Union would soon follow suit, just as we would do if the Soviet Union had the unexplained atomic explosion in their territory. This leads to a problem for which no one, military expert or not, has given me the solution.

Here is the situation:

Our planes are making for the Soviet Union; theirs are headed toward us. Our missiles are made ready for immediate dispatch; so are theirs. I remind you that we cannot look to the gaping hole and its lethal radio-activity to tell us who caused the explosion and for what reason. There is no wreckage to examine, and there are no witnesses to interrogate.

But less than 20 minutes after the explosion, if it happens in the United States, the Soviet Union's condition of top alert will be reported to the White House by our intelligence officers. The tough question is, How can we tell whether the intensive preparations are defensive or offensive?

The answer is that we cannot make any such determination because the preparations for defense and offense are identical.

Our planes can turn back when they reach a certain point, called the fail-safe line, but on what basis do we dare allow them to return when we know the Soviet planes are heading toward us? Is this the time when the President calls up Khrushchev and says, "Tell me the truth now, was that explosion the beginning of an attack on us? Or if it wasn't, are you planning to use our defensive preparation as an excuse for an attack on us?" It seems hardly worth while to make the call, yet how do we extricate ourselves in such a crisis?

Before I venture to propose any remedies, let me suggest a further complication—public panic. Consider the immediate and intensive coverage such an explosion would receive on TV, radio, and in the newspapers. Think of the impact on our great urban centers of population—the TV coverage and the descriptions of the magnitude of the physical damages, the numbers of dead and injured. Think of the terrible, unbearable suspense of wondering if this is only the first of many atomic missiles being directed at our country by a powerful and implacable enemy.

It seems likely that an almost universal breakdown in law and order might ensue in the cities as people sought, not unreasonably, to take shelter or, in most cases, get out into the countryside. There would be rioting and looting. The President would appear on TV and his voice would be heard on radio. "Be calm," he would enjoin us, "my information is that this is not part of an attack on us. It was just an unfortunate accident. Please return to your homes." But even he couldn't know for sure that it was an accident.

Let us be optimistic and say that this announcement, along with other measures, does deter a wave of panic. What happens 20 minutes later when the news comes (and it could not be withheld from the American people even if the President so wished) that the Soviet military forces are mobilizing at top speed? Would our people believe the President if he told them that in his opinion the Soviets were only doing this as a defensive measure and that it was not in fact a threat against us? It would be difficult to present a convincing basis for such an opinion.

This introduces one of the remedies that I suggest we begin to apply without further delay—namely, public recognition of the problem presented to us by this mixture of maximum weapons, minimum decision times, and mere mortals. At present the official position of both the Defense Department and the Atomic Energy Commission is that accidental or unauthorized nuclear explosions are but "remote possibilities" hardly worth discussing. This position must change.

The truth is that such explosions are more than probable. They are inevitable. A healthy skepticism of man's ability to manage safely such weapons is the beginning of wisdom; and an acknowledgment of the real odds favoring accident will make public reaction more rational when the accident occurs.

Secondly, further efforts to lessen tensions between the East and West must be made along the lines of the President's example in agreeing to exchange visits with Khrushchev. Increased communication through visitor exchanges can help lead to the sort of understanding which must be the foundation for any honorable, stable peace.

Thirdly, self-enforcing, arms-length disarmament agreements must be negotiated. The most important is with respect to nuclear tests. Once international inspection has been established for one type of armament, its application to wider areas is unlimited and of immensely hopeful potential.

Finally, we must understand that the only alternative to rule of force is the rule of law. The President believes this, so did

the late Secretary of State Dulles. So do Vice President Nixon, President de Gaulle, all the top British governmental leaders and, I would estimate, almost every other responsible political leader in the world.

It is essential that the United Nations Charter be reviewed. Indeed, we have delayed too long. High level studies should start immediately throughout the world, not only within governments but among the peoples themselves. The danger of nuclear doom is clear enough for those who will open their eyes. The dream of a world rule of law may seem impractical at first, but how practical, I have to ask, is a nuclear arms race? Just about as practical, I'd say, as offering those chimpanzees I mentioned earlier more baskets of live grenades.

An essential first step, now awaiting enactment by the U.S. Senate, is the repeal of the Connally reservation, which permits us at will to deny the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

Last year I attended a meeting at which Philip Noel-Baker, Member of Parliament, Nobel Peace Prize winner and noted disarmament expert, said in an informal conversation that he was an optimist in that he believed universal disarmament was feasible in terms of providing safeguards against one nation's getting an advantage over another, if the nations all decided they wanted that equality.

"But," he added thoughtfully, "I'm also a pessimist in that I believe that in 10 years we will all be dead and the earth will be an incinerated relic."

The man standing next to him, a top scientific adviser in our Government, declared, "I believe so too."

I don't believe so. Nuclear doom is not one of the inevitables I intend to accept. The inevitable accidental or unauthorized nuclear explosion need not mean world war III.

I think we are smart enough to survive, but I realize that time is terrifyingly short and that the task is tremendous. An ever-increasing number of devoted men and women are responding to the unprecedented challenge of unprecedented weapons. That gives me faith that we frail human beings and our free nations will not, for a while anyway, perish from this earth.

[From the Nation, Mar. 5, 1960]

NONSURVIVABILITY PLUS

(By George G. Kirstein)

The way to disarm is to arm. A country has to have more arms than its potential enemy in order to negotiate disarmament from a position of strength. Once we have arms superiority, the Russians will presumably be forced to disarm. One odd thing about this prevailing current doctrine is that it is not expected to work in reverse. If the Russians gain arms superiority over us, we will not begin to disarm—we will "close the gap." Another curious thing about it is that when we did have arms superiority—when we had the A-bomb and the Russians didn't—neither they nor we disarmed. They closed the gap.

But just because the theory has not worked so far in either direction is no reason to abandon it. The task before us is to compose a logic to justify our immutable theory, and for this purpose we need a new language. Fortunately such an instrument is already at hand, for both the armed services and the research centers of the great universities have men trained in the manufacture of a new jargon which will serve as a framework for the new logic. For simplicity's sake and to differentiate it from English, this language may be called Desperanto.

For example, all reasonable men know that the way to stop an enemy from attacking us is to have the capacity to destroy him if he makes the first move. This ability for "instant and massive" retaliation is labeled "deterrence" and for it to be effective we must

have overwhelming "deterrent capability." General Power points out that if we have sufficient "deterrent capability," it will be impossible for an aggressor to develop a "confidence factor." "Deterrent capability," the very keystone of the new logic, has several synonyms, of which the one most frequently used is "kill" power. Fortunately, we are told that at the present time our "kill" power—take it for all in all—is superior to the Russians'. However, we are still in danger because of the "missile gap." It is not enough to have overall superior "kill" power; paradoxically, we must have a surplus of it in order to guarantee our survival. A surplus of "kill" power is called "overkill" and the key equation of the new theory is, "Overkill equals total nonsurvivability plus." In this equation, of course, we have the "overkill" and the enemy has the "nonsurvivability plus."

Unfortunately, we do not have enough deterrent capability even when we have lots of "overkill," as we now have. "Overkill" doesn't take care of limited aggression in what Representative WALTER calls fourth-dimensional war. In order to stop this limited aggression threat, we must have limited deterrents or clearly there will be a deterrent gap. We must have an overall military posture capable of defending ourselves by every means from launching preventive war (this used to be called attack in the old language) to repelling invaders armed with slingshots. I feel myself that the military is guilty of overlooking our slingshot capability, but perhaps we should not be too harsh, for they have overlooked little else. Nonetheless, the Democratic candidates, particularly Senator SYMINGTON, may have a real campaign issue in this slingshot gap. Fortunately, there is not a correlative bow and arrow gap, because we have a ready reserve or militia of sportsmen skilled with this weapon.

The logicians of deterrence may at last be satisfied when we perfect, as we are sure to do soon, the doomsday bomb. This weapon, when hitched up to an electronic brain, will be able to destroy the remainder of mankind even if no survivors are left in the attacked country to set it off. This is what spokesmen of the new logic call an invulnerable deterrent. Apparently this cobalt-coated hydrogen bomb creates a radioactive fallout so excessive that "On the Beach" can become fact—not fiction. This is total "overkill," or the end of the line. Indeed, the doomsday bomb may be the fantastic new weapon about which Mr. Khrushchev recently bragged. So the doomsday bomb may be already upon us, although, due to the intelligence gap and a reappraisal of Soviet intentions as contrasted with capabilities, it may be some time before we can know whether we are in this jeopardy. Unless a doomsday bomb can be set up in each free country the potential enemy's confidence factor may become absolutely overwhelming, because according to the experts only a weapon guaranteeing unacceptable damage will deter all rational rulers from aggression.

But I foresee a future gap even after we announce that we and all our friends, great and small, also have the doomsday bomb. Let us suppose that the Russians beat us to the moon. Suppose then that there are two Russians or even a couple of Russian dogs on that satellite when the doomsday bomb goes off. Clearly we have failed to reduce survivability to zero. We need a doomsday moon bomb—one capable not only of destroying mankind on earth but on the moon as well, preferably simultaneously. Without such a deterrent we are at the absolute mercy of the enemy. Let's have no spiritual flabbiness nor lack of zeal in perfecting this weapon. Let's have a crash program to meet this problem. Here is a gap which can be foreseen and definitized. Without possession of this supermassive retaliatory defense deterrent, we can't finalize our future.

EUGENE, OREG., March 10, 1960.

Representative CHARLES O. PORTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My husband and I read with great interest and approval, your recent article, "Accident or Aggression," in the Nation, March 5, 1960. I am enclosing a clipping from the Vancouver Sun, British Columbia, February 27, 1960, of which you may or may not be aware, but which I think is a step in the right direction and shows signs of constructive action. It seems to us regrettable there is no concerted, similar movement in the United States. It is also unfortunate there is a tendency to criticize those individuals in the United States, who attempt to draw attention to this problem, as though they were invariably indulging in Communist propaganda, whatever that is.

We were gratified to know you had attended the London conference and felt it should have been given more publicity here. Again we wish to offer our compliments on your fine article.

Sincerely,

THELMA M. PIERRON (Mrs. Wm.)

SYRACUSE, N.Y., March 7, 1960.

DEAR MR. PORTER: I have just read your article in the Nation. I am convinced that a growing number of people are concerned that we will have war by accident. Please keep talking and writing of this possibility.

GENE GILMORE.

CHARLESTON, W. VA., March 6, 1960.

DEAR SIR: Your article in the Nation is about the best I have read to date. It has the further advantage of being written by one whose motives and reasoning are above suspicion. I would like to see this reprinted in Life or Time, for example, in order that it would receive the highest possible readership—next to a 2-page color ad of "Atlas."

CHARLES CHRISLIP.

MADISON, WIS., March 7, 1960.

The Honorable CHARLES O. PORTER,
House of Representatives Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PORTER: We have just read your article in the March 5, Nation, "Accident or Aggression?"

It is superb. We find it especially heartening to know that a Member of our Congress is thinking and speaking so clearly. We wish to thank you for your clear and courageous statement of what should be elemental facts.

Will you be having this article put into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD? If so would reprints be available? The movie, "On the Beach" is to start in Madison on March 9 and we feel this would be a telling moment to call attention to what most of us believe to be but a weird nightmare, not possible. We feel and hope as you do "that we are smart enough to survive," but also that "time is terrifyingly short and the task tremendous."

Is there some way in which we can help you in your great fight for survival?

Very sincerely,

Dr. and Mrs. KARL PAUL LINK.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY,

Ithaca, N.Y., March 14, 1960.

The Honorable CHARLES O. PORTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: I wish to express my appreciation of your fine frank article in the Nation of March 5 "Accident or Aggression?" and my horror at the facts you so forcefully set out. With most of them I had some familiarity already but not with your veiled statements on the lack of observance of safety procedures (pp. 203-204). You have done a great public service in writing this article. I wish there were some way in which knowledge of these facts could be brought

home to more people that know them, perhaps, intellectually but pay no real attention.

Sincerely yours,

BERTRAM F. WILLCOX.

(This needs no acknowledgment; nor any answer unless there is conceivably any way in which I could be of help in your battle to stave off a mass tragedy which we can talk about but not begin actually to comprehend.)

BOSTON, MASS., March 4, 1960.

MY DEAR MR. PORTER: I have just read your article, "Accident or Aggression?" in the Nation and wish to thank you most wholeheartedly for your timely discussion of some of the most dreadful aspects of the nuclear arms race. When you write, "Nuclear doom is not one of the inevitables I intend to accept," I believe you are speaking for virtually every citizen who brings himself to face the possibilities of nuclear war, and certainly you are speaking for a substantial proportion of citizens whose opinions do not readily find outlets in the press or radio, but who represent the most responsible part of the electorate.

I have expressed similar ideas in letters to officials who support the arms policies of the Government and feel that it is futile to waste one's time and efforts talking logic to people upon whom logic makes no impression whatever.

But I do think that it is time (and perhaps this is our only hope) for those who share your views to move together in a display of unity impressive enough to cause the Government to have grave doubts as to the national support it would have for a nuclear war.

It would seem that the first task of Congress is educating the administration in the facts of nuclear war would be the formation of united and impressive opposition to this suicidal continuation of the arms race within its own ranks. I think you already have an implicit mandate for such action from the people. There must be national support for such a movement, judging by the statements of Gov. G. Mennen Williams, Gov. Robert Meyner, Adlai Stevenson, etc. Either there is a new orientation to American foreign policy thinking or the generals will have their way and we will get our nuclear holocaust.

Why, for instance, do we insist that the Soviets take no unilateral action to decide Germany's fate and yet we refuse to negotiate the question of the altitude of our flights to Berlin? This is a question for civilian negotiators, not for the generals to decide.

Is it not fitting, in this time of remembrance of the American Civil War, to remind ourselves that it, too, was a war which nobody wanted or intended but which was made inevitable by the resort to violence instead of rationality which we see occurring today.

I hope and pray that there are enough men like you in Congress to act in the name of reason while there is still time, and again many thanks for your efforts on behalf of truth, and be assured of my very sincere appreciation and best wishes.

Yours very truly,

J. MURRAY FORBES.

THE INDEPENDENT BANKERS
ASSOCIATION,

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Sauk Centre, Minn., March 7, 1960.

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: In the March 5 issue of the Nation, your article, "Accident or Aggression?" portrays in a realistic way the situation that confronts us. We are galloping toward destruction.

The hopeful sign, if there is any, is that Russia is doing too well to intentionally bring about chaos, but miscalculations can occur, as you have so ably stated and the more nations that perfect these diabolical machines of destruction, the more chance the people of the world will be taking.

Yours is a thoughtful article. I wish the Nation had a larger circulation, so that it would be brought to the attention of more people.

With best regards, I am,

Yours very truly,

BEN DUBOIS.

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 4, 1960.

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER,
Member of Congress, Old House Office
Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: Your article in the March 5 issue of the Nation presents one side of an argument with most unusual clarity and force. Naturally, I would prefer to side with those who claim the odds are against an accidental war, but your arguments are very persuasive. Certainly everyone would agree that whether the odds are on one side or the other, national survival has become the subject of an international lottery.

Persuasive though your arguments are, they prove only that something must be done—presumably something new, bold and imaginative. Your conclusion, that we must work for world peace through world law by amending the charter of the United Nations, does not seem to be supported in the least by what has gone before. At the most, you are saying that we must have world law and, therefore, we can get it. At the least, you are saying that we must have world law and, therefore, we should start working toward it. As the first is obviously a non sequitur, I assume that the second implication is the correct one. In principle, of course, all would agree with it, and yet strictly speaking it is not quite an accurate statement either. As Professor Wolff of the Harvard philosophy department wrote to me a month or two ago, "In a way, the Western Community has the noble, but tragic, task of keeping alive as well as possible an ideal of human existence which has not been known before, and may never be known again." His point, of course, is that the continued existence of Western democratic values is very important to him as it is to you and me, but nothing about it is either necessary or even probable. If we wish to preserve them or even to lengthen their existence, we will have to strengthen them where they are and extend them wherever possible.

Professor Wolff was commenting on a brief disquisition on this subject which I wrote about a year ago. You may find it of interest.

With every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

JUSTIN BLACKWELDER.

GREENSBURG, PA., March 7, 1960.

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER,
U.S. Congressman from Oregon, House Office
Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: Those powerful articles by you and Publisher Kirstein in the current, March 5, issue of the Nation, should be seen by all other Representatives in our Congress, both Houses. Also copies furnished all beribboned Pentagon moguls who underpin our bipartisan military plutocracy.

Commendingly yours,

J. R. KEISTER,
LL.B. Harvard 1912.

CALIFORNIA STATE
POLYTECHNIC COLLEGE,

San Luis Obispo, Calif., March 4, 1960.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PORTER: I have just read your article, "Accident or Aggression?" It is the best piece I have ever read on our

most vital problem. Congratulations. I have written to Reader's Digest pleading with them to reprint it.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM M. ALEXANDER,
Assistant Professor of Political Science.

THE NELSON-NORA
METHODIST CHURCHES,
Nelson, Nebr., March 8, 1960.

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: I appreciate so much your article in the Nation, "Accident or Aggression." I read it with deep interest and growing concern. After a day of thought and prayer, I wrote to the Nation publishers for 500 reprints of the article. I plan to use some of the "Lord's fund" to send these to Members of Congress and to other friends and members of my congregation.

Yesterday a close friend was telling of his visit last week to the SAC headquarters in Omaha. He said that there are red telephones that are in direct contact with missiles armed with H-bombs. He said that if a man gives the secret code, electronic brains take over and start the machinery moving so that these weapons can be in the air in about 10 minutes and on target within 30 minutes. If this is true, if someone who knows the code should go insane it would be possible for him to literally blow up the world. Do you have information on this? If this is true, every American citizen should know it. I would appreciate any official information (which gives the true picture) on the possibility of such a thing happening.

There are many of us who are willing and able to throw our energy and thought into a fight for lasting peace. The only thing that holds us back is the lack of leadership from our National Government. If we would mobilize for peace as we have done for war, we will be able to tap the unused energy buried deep in the desire for peace that is in the hearts of all the common people of the world. We would be able to think through the economic, social, and political problems involved in shifting to a nonmilitary economy. Who can we get to take such leadership except the President? Any help you can give in this No. 1 issue will be appreciated by all of us.

You may find the enclosed letter sent to a number of my friends of interest. Thanks again for your good work.

Sincerely,

LINCOLN B. JUSTICE.

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY,
Fort Collins, Colo., March 10, 1960.

The Honorable CHARLES O. PORTER,
The House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PORTER: Thank you for your article "Accident or Aggression" in the Nation, March 5, 1960. Your article and the effort lying behind it are of great value in the struggle for peace. Here in Colorado there is great concern about these problems. The film "On the Beach" dealing with the threat of nuclear destruction has drawn large audiences, and people are eager to find ways to eliminate the threat of radiation.

Most Americans, I believe, welcomed the initiative of President Eisenhower in seeking an exchange of visits with Premier Khrushchev. However, more needs to be done. Our position, it seems to me, is over-rigid. We want disarmament in theory, yet we are insistent to the extreme on the need for foolproof controls. But the Russians are just as aware as we of the impossibility of a major nuclear war. Further, while they certainly strive to expand communism, I see no reason to believe that they want to spread it through world war. If we would just agree to a ban on weapons tests and then to a ban on nuclear weapons with a moderate control system such as the Russians would

agree to, the immediate threat of destruction would be removed. Surely we can trust the Russians that much, because the actions would be in their own self-interest, and the burden of armaments is surely heavier on their economy than on ours.

While seeking disarmament on a reasonable basis, we should plan for a changeover to a large-scale peacetime economy. With proper planning, we need fear no economic disaster. I sincerely hope that the leaders of the Democratic Party will start stressing peace and disarmament.

Thank you again for your excellent and helpful article.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. PAUL A. BATES.

LOMBARD, ILL., March 7, 1960.

DEAR MR. PORTER: Your excellent article "Accident or Aggression," in March 5 Nation deserves a hearty thank you from every American citizen.

I only wish that more than subscribers to the Nation could read this article. It is very disheartening, as you bring out in your article, that so few people think about the terrifying situation at all and I can verify this attitude among my own acquaintances.

Our Government's give away program of nuclear know-how to Germany and other nations, complicates the future and makes a nightmare of living.

My husband and I have written our Senators and the President about the extreme danger of this policy but I fear to no avail.

The most disheartening thing is the total lack of a Democratic program for a sane world.

In fact PAUL DOUGLAS is such a confirmed warmonger that it neutralizes his efforts on civil rights.

I'm afraid the Democrats have no place to go this next election.

Wishing you much success in your efforts to stimulate interest in a sane policy on disarmament.

Very sincerely yours,

HELEN J. TEFFT.

HICKSVILLE, LONG ISLAND, N.Y.,

March 4, 1960.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE PORTER: Let me start by introducing myself. I am the chairman of the professional interests committee of the Roslyn Teachers Association—a group of teachers and administrators numbering about 275. It is my job to organize a day during which we hear and discuss vital issues from the educational and political worlds. The day commences with a keynoter and, sir, after reading your article in the Nation of March 5, I am convinced that what you have to say is worth hearing.

I think our staff must hear from someone of your stature the truths that confront us today. As a matter of fact, I don't think I am exaggerating when I say it is vital to hear these things. I am afraid we educators are not the best informed people in the world, and it is most important we should be * * *

It is with the same note of urgency I felt in your article that I write this letter.

Yours truly,

GEORGE HIRSHFIELD.

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH,

Los Angeles, Calif., March 8, 1960.

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PORTER: May I express my deep appreciation for your article, "Accident or Aggression?" in the Nation for March 5. This is, indeed, a most frightening sobering statement but it should be read by every American. I am wondering if you have reprints that we might distribute to the members of the First Unitarian Church. If you have I could use 500 copies, if there is a

printing charge that is not excessive we will certainly pay it. Are you seeing to it that this article gets to all Members of the Congress and to the Executive Office of the President, and to members of the Atomic Energy Commission? I would like to know how rank and file Americans can cooperate in stopping this madness that involves us all. I dare say you saw the papers this morning that indicated that in Santa Barbara, Calif., by error a Conelrad tape was played saying "this is not a test, this is it, seek bomb shelter," etc. The station has been apologizing all morning for the mistake. I mention this because you wisely point out that error plays a large part in the danger that confronts us.

Sincerely yours,

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN.

LINCOLN PARK, MICH., March 11, 1960.

The Hon. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: Your article, "Accident or Aggression?" in the Nation, March 5, 1960, should be read by every American. The complacency and downright blindness in matters of the so-called "defense" among our leaders as well as among the general public is staggering.

My husband and I find it heartening that some voices are raised in warning. We also welcome your positive proposals toward a world law by strengthening the United Nations and your stand for the repeal of the Connally Reservation in order to increase the effectiveness of the International Court of Justice.

We feel strongly that a complete, universal disarmament controlled and enforced by the United Nations should be our goal. This is a goal worthy of all the effort on earth.

Yours very truly,

MAIMU FRANOSCH.

Mrs. HANS. FRANOSCH.

THE CHESAPEAKE & OHIO RAILWAY CO.,
Cleveland, Ohio, March 8, 1960.

HON. CHARLES O. PORTER,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN PORTER: Your brilliant discussion of "Accident or Aggression?" in the March 5 Nation deserves the widest readership. Public as well as official opinion urgently needs to become thoroughly acquainted with this terrifying but realistic possibility.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

CYRUS EATON.

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

MR. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

THE SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

MR. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, on January 5, 1955, the opening day of the 84th Congress, I introduced a bill to provide Federal assistance in the construction of classrooms in elementary and secondary schools. Since that time I have made strenuous and continuing efforts, as a member of the Education and Labor Committee, to develop a soundly conceived Federal program in this area.

On February 9, 1959, I introduced H.R. 4268, which incorporated the administrations specific recommendations at

that time. Since then it has seemed advisable to make certain revisions in language and in specific provisions. Last March 11 I introduced H.R. 11122, which represents a revised version of the original administration proposal. These revisions were prepared by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

The provisions of H.R. 11122 are substantially the same as those incorporated in the substitute offered by Senator DIRKSEN on February 4, 1960, during the Senate debate on S. 8—see pages 2084-2088 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

In my opinion H.R. 11122 offers a more constructive and effective program of action for the Federal Government than does H.R. 10128 as amended. For that reason when H.R. 10128, which has been reported favorably by the Committee on Education and Labor, comes up for consideration on the House floor, I expect to offer H.R. 11122 as a substitute. It may be, therefore, that Members will desire to familiarize themselves with the most recent form of the administration's proposal. For that reason I have had prepared an explanation of the bill identifying the principal differences between H.R. 4268 and H.R. 11122.

EXPLANATION OF H.R. 11122 IDENTIFYING PRINCIPAL CHANGES FROM H.R. 4268

GENERAL

The bill would authorize a 5-year program of assistance to needy school districts in meeting the annual installments of principal and interest on bonds or other obligations issued to finance construction of urgently needed elementary or secondary public school facilities. This assistance would be in the form of Federal grants to pay one-half the annual principal and interest on such bonds, with the States providing the other half. (H.R. 4268 provides for assistance in the form of repayable Federal advances.)

PROHIBITION AGAINST FEDERAL CONTROL

Federal interference, in the administration of the bill, with the personnel, curriculum, or program of any school would be prohibited.

ALLOCATIONS

The bill provides for allocating amounts each year among the States to serve as maximums of school construction bonds on which the Federal Government would undertake to pay half the principal and interest. This maximum for a State would apply for the year for which the allocation was made, but any part of it not used in that year would be available for the same purpose for the next year (along with the new allocation for that year). H.R. 11122 contains a provision (not in H.R. 4268) permitting a State to postpone the availability of its first year's allocation (or of all of its allocations) for 1 year.

The total available for allocation among the States for this purpose for any year would be the amount, not exceeding \$600 million specified in appropriation or other law for such year.

The allocations to the States would be based on a combination of three factors—the relative income per child of school age of the State, the relative number of public school children of the State, and the relative financial effort for school purposes made by the State (school effort index). Subject to adjustment on account of the State's school effort index, each State's allocation for the year would be equal to an amount bearing the same ratio to the total available for allocation for that year as the product of (1) the number of children in

average daily attendance in public elementary or secondary schools in the State multiplied by (2) the State's allocation ratio, bears to the sum of the corresponding products for all the States.

A State's allocation ratio would depend on the income per child of school age for the State as compared with the income per child of school age for the United States, with the ratio for the State at the national average being 0.50 and the ratios for the other States varying inversely with their relative incomes per child of school age between a minimum of 0.25 and a maximum of 0.75.

The income per child of school age for any State would be the total personal income for the State divided by the number of school-age children in the State. The income per child of school age for the United States would be similarly computed.

The allocation ratios are to be promulgated as soon as possible after enactment of the bill and again in the third calendar quarter of 1962. They will be based on data averaged for the 3 most recent consecutive years for which satisfactory data are available from the Department of Commerce. The first promulgation will be conclusive for the period from July 1, 1960, through June 30, 1963, and the second for the period from July 1, 1963, through June 30, 1965.

Special provisions are provided for Alaska prior to the time satisfactory per capita income data are available for it. Before such data are available for a full year, Alaska's allocation ratio will be 0.75.

STATE SCHOOL EFFORT INDEX

Allocations determined as provided above would be reduced by the percentage (if any) that the State's school effort index was less than the national index; and the total of the reductions would be added to the allocations of the States not so reduced, in proportion to their original allocations for the year, determined as provided above.

A State's school effort index would be determined on the basis of the ratio of school expenditures per child in average daily attendance in public elementary or secondary schools to the State's income per child of school age. The national index would be based on these figures for the United States (which excludes the District of Columbia and, for a temporary period until income data becomes available, Alaska).

The State and national indexes would be deemed equal for Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam and for any State whose expenditures per child in average daily attendance in public elementary or secondary schools were not less than those for the United States. This assumed equality would also apply temporarily in the case of Alaska.

The school expenditures referred to above would include expenditures by States and subdivisions thereof for elementary or secondary education made from funds derived from State or local sources. These would be determined by the Commissioner of Education for the most recent school year for which satisfactory data from the States are available to him. The number of children in average daily attendance would be similarly determined.

The income per child of school age for the States and the United States would be determined on the basis of data for the most recent year for which satisfactory data are available from the Department of Commerce.

STATE PLANS

Before the Commissioner of Education could undertake to make Federal commitments to pay half the principal and interest on bonds or other obligations issued to finance the construction of schools in any State, the State would have to submit and have approved a State plan which provides for administration by the State educational agency.

The State plan would provide for limiting the Federal (and State) grants to local educational agencies which undertake to exert a reasonable tax effort (determined under the plan) in financing their school construction needs, and which would be unable, if they exerted this reasonable tax effort and fully utilized resources from all sources to pay the principal and interest on bonds issued to finance the buildings they need. Federal (and State) assistance must also be limited to bonds issued to finance the construction of urgently needed schools, i.e., schools needed to relieve or prevent overcrowding, double shifts, or unhealthful or hazardous conditions.

The plan would set forth standards and procedures for determining a reasonable tax effort for each applicant local educational agency. The standards and procedures would assure that the tax effort so determined will be a reasonable one in the light of the taxable resources of the local educational agencies, the local and State shares in financing school construction, and the tax effort and methods of financing used by local educational agencies in the State. H.R. 11122 contains a further provision, not contained in H.R. 4268, that such standards and procedures shall also take account of the tax effort which local educational agencies should reasonably exert to meet other public elementary or secondary educational expenses including payment of teachers' salaries, and may, if the State so elects, provide for a reduction in a local educational agency's reasonable tax effort for school construction financing if and to the extent such agency exerts more than a reasonable tax effort to meet such other educational expenses.

An approvable plan would also set forth priority standards and procedures which assure that the highest priority will be accorded to local educational agencies which are least able to finance the full cost of urgently needed school facilities, and that the order of priority will in other respects be based on relative need for financial aid in construction of such facilities and relative urgency of need for such facilities.

Finally, approvable State plans would provide for establishment of State standards for planning and construction of school facilities, for affording an opportunity for a hearing to unsuccessful project applicants, and for the making of the reports to the Commissioner of Education which he needs to administer the act.

FEDERAL COMMITMENTS

For each local educational agency whose application is approved, the Commissioner would make a Federal commitment obligating the Federal Government to make payments of one-half of the annual principal and interest on the obligations covered. These obligations could be to finance all or a portion of the construction of a school facilities project. The latest maturity of obligations, in any issue thereof, would have to occur in 20 to 30 years, with the first payment of principal due before the end of the third year after issuance.

Applications of local educational agencies would be submitted by the State educational agency to the Commissioner with a request for a Federal commitment. The State would certify that—

(1) The local educational agency is eligible for the commitment and the construction project is entitled to priority over other projects in the State under the priority standards and procedures in the State plan.

(2) The project is consistent with applicable State redistricting plans or policies and is in accord with applicable State construction laws and standards.

(3) The financing of any portion of the cost of the project which is not to be financed from obligations covered by the commitment has been arranged.

The State educational agency would also have to accompany its request for the commitment with satisfactory assurance that the local educational agency will take appropriate steps to secure the most favorable rate of interest and other terms for the obligations to be issued to finance the construction of the project, and that the local educational agency will, during the life of the obligations, exert the tax effort determined to be reasonable under the State plan and apply any surplus of revenues thereby produced to payment of the principal and interest on the obligations until they are retired. (H.R. 4268 extended the requirement of exertion of reasonable tax effort for a period of 10 years after the obligations are retired, during which period one-half of any surplus revenues produced was to be applied to repayment of the Federal assistance advanced during the life of the obligations.)

The amount of surplus produced by the local educational agency's reasonable tax effort would be the amount which remained after applying the proceeds of this effort (and any other resources available to the agency for paying school construction debts) to payment of financing charges on school construction debts incurred prior to the request for Federal assistance, and on debts for school facilities projects incurred after the request but approved by the State educational agency as being needed to prevent or relieve overcrowding, double shifts, or unhealthful or hazardous conditions.

STATE MATCHING REQUIREMENTS

No Federal commitment could be made under the bill to pay half the principal and interest on any obligations unless the State made an equal commitment to pay the other half. However, instead of so committing itself, the State could make a capital grant covering a portion of the cost of the construction project; in such case the Federal commitment would be to pay the full principal and interest annually becoming due on so much of the obligations issued to finance the rest of such cost as did not exceed the amount of the capital grant by the State. The Federal Government and the State would share equally in the annual principal and interest payments on any remaining obligations.

FEDERAL PAYMENTS

Payments by the Commissioner of Education on the Federal Government's one-half of the annual principal and interest becoming due on obligations covered by any Federal commitment would be made by the Commissioner from time to time, in advance or otherwise, to the agency, person, or persons designated in the State educational agency's request for the Federal commitment. As previously indicated, Federal payments in any year would be reduced to the extent of any surplus revenues produced through exercise of the required reasonable tax effort and applied toward such principal and interest becoming due.

RESERVATION OF ALLOCATION

H.R. 11122 contains a provision (subsec. 7(c) not contained in H.R. 4268, whereby a State educational agency may, in case of a school construction project eligible for a Federal commitment, but for State legal restrictions prohibiting the issuance of obligations by the local agency concerned, have all or part of its allocation reserved for a Federal commitment to be made on the project any time until June 30, 1968.

STATES EXCLUSIVELY RESPONSIBLE FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION FINANCING

In some States or territories, a State agency may have exclusive responsibility for financing the construction of school facilities. In others, a State agency may

have exclusive responsibility for financing such construction for particular areas, such as unorganized territory. The Commissioner would be authorized to modify or make inapplicable to such State, or area of a State, any provisions of the bill which he determined to be inappropriate by reason of the absence of a local educational agency or agencies responsible for school construction financing, to the extent he deemed such action necessary in order to achieve the purposes of the bill.

FAILURE TO EXERT REASONABLE TAX EFFORT

If any local educational agency with respect to whose obligations a Federal commitment has been made fails, in any period during the life of the obligations, to exert the reasonable tax effort required pursuant to the State plan, it would be obligated to repay to the United States the additional amount it would have paid toward the annual principal and interest for the period involved had it exerted the required reasonable tax effort.

ABANDONMENT OF FACILITIES

The Federal payments (or such lesser amount as may be determined to be reasonable by agreement or Federal district court suit) would have to be repaid to the United States if the construction of facilities financed by obligations with respect to which the Federal payments were made is abandoned or not completed within a reasonable time.

LABOR STANDARDS

The Commissioner would not be able to make a Federal commitment for financing the construction of school facilities except upon assurance that labor standards, relating to payment of prevailing wages and overtime pay for work in excess of 40 hours per week or 8 hours per day, would be observed in such construction.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

The Commissioner would be authorized to agree to modifications of Federal commitments and of the obligations with respect to which commitments have been made. He would also be authorized to waive or compromise claims. His financial transactions under the bill, while subject to audit by the General Accounting Office, would be conclusive on all other Government officials.

COURT ACTION

Suits would be authorized in the district courts of the United States by any person holding bonds covered by a Federal commitment, to enforce any undertaking of the Commissioner under the commitment.

DEFINITIONS

A number of terms used in the bill are defined. These terms are "Commissioner," "State," "State educational agency," "local educational agency," "school facilities," "obligations," and "construct," "constructing," and "construction."

WITHHOLDING OF FUNDS AND JUDICIAL REVIEW

Notice and hearing to the State educational agency would be required before Federal commitments to the State could be suspended for failure to comply with the required provisions of approved State plans. A State agency dissatisfied with such suspension could obtain judicial review thereof in the Federal circuit court of appeals.

MISCELLANEOUS

Utilization of other Federal agencies in administration of the bill would also be authorized, as would be delegation of the Commissioner of Education's functions under the bill to personnel of the Office of Education.

THE IDEOLOGY THAT WINS—A CHALLENGE TO COMMUNISM

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Wolf] is recognized for 1 hour and 20 minutes.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include various articles.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Iowa?

There was no objection.

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker—

A Nation without an ideology is self-satisfied and dead.

So stated Konrad Adenauer in the statement released in the New York Journal American, Sunday, January 31, 1960.

The democracies are on the defensive because of lack of a moral ideology superior to communism. In the ideological war there is no neutrality nor coexistence.

So said Prime Minister Kishi of Japan.

We are in a world war of ideas, and our greatest need is to go on the offensive. We must awaken America to the need of arming our Nation with an ideology as well as through economic and military means. Subversive forces are tearing down and undermining the moral strength of America. At the same time, with ruthless duplicity Moscow is sweet one day and tough the next with a strategy which the free world has failed to comprehend.

So said Adm. William H. Standley, former Chief of Naval Operations and former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to discuss this afternoon an ideology that I believe can and will conquer communism. The ideology of which I speak is known as Moral Re-Armament.

Today as I speak, 75 million copies of a booklet entitled "Ideology and Coexistence" have been distributed in 24 languages in many areas of the world. I think it is safe to say that literally hundreds of millions of people by this day have heard for the first time of this greater ideology. We in Washington were the first city in America to be selected for mass distribution of this booklet.

I would like to place at this point in the Record the comments of various newspapers in the area:

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 9, 1959]

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT DRAWS TASS ATTACK

LONDON, Dec. 8.—Tass today said "the notorious organization known as Moral Re-Armament is opposed to the relaxation of international tension."

The agency said Moral Re-Armament, which "unites several politicians and industrial magnates, retired generals and various businessmen," now is "especially active in Scandinavia," where its agents are "circulating a pamphlet, 'Ideology and Coexistence,' written in typical cold-war language."

[From the Washington Evening Star, Mar. 28, 1960]

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT DISTRIBUTING BOOKLET

Moral Re-Armament yesterday began a campaign to distribute its handbook "Ideology and Coexistence" to the 552,000 homes in the Washington area.

At a meeting at the Willard Hotel, presiding officer Dr. Douglas Cornell, Executive Officer of the National Academy of Sciences, said the aim of the booklet is intended "to strengthen the backbone of freedom and to instill the will to fight for what is right."

[From the Suburban Record, Mar. 24, 1960]

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT—HANDBOOK PROPOSING MORAL FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNISM GOING IN MALES

Every home in the Washington area will receive a handbook next week which is clarifying for hundreds of millions of people across the world the issues created by the cold war.

Area residents will be participating in a worldwide distribution which has been described as the most massive simultaneous circulation of a single publication ever undertaken. Already 75 million homes in Britain, France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, Australia, Canada, and in the key areas of South America, Africa, and Asia have received copies translated into 24 languages.

"Ideology and Coexistence," prepared by Moral Re-Armament, is a 31-page handbook which describes the Communist plan for world takeover and explains how democracy can become an effective force to answer it. It has been published as a weapon to put America and the free world on the offensive in the ideological struggle.

Moscow has vigorously attacked the handbook on a world scale through Tass (Soviet news agency), Pravda, Izvestia, Trud, and the World Marxist Review. In recent months there have been 100 attacks over the Moscow, Tashkent, and Peking radios noting that the handbook "is putting an end to the ideological softening up of the free world."

The world distribution is being financed by voluntary contributions and the efforts of thousands of people.

[From the Alexandria (Va.) Gazette, Mar. 26, 1960]

MRA BOOKLET DISTRIBUTION SLATED IN AREA

WASHINGTON.—The 75 millionth copy of a handbook, "Ideology and Coexistence," which is being distributed throughout the free world, was presented to Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin yesterday by Rear Adm. Adolphus Staton, U.S. Navy, retired. Admiral Staton holds the Congressional Medal of Honor and the Navy Cross.

The handbook, produced by Moral Re-Armament, goes Monday to the 552,000 homes in the Washington metropolitan area.

Admiral Staton told the Commissioner that the handbook "presents the best answer that we know in the ideological field to communism."

Admiral Staton said that the handbook had been bitterly attacked by the Communist press and radio for, in their words, "putting an end to the ideological softening-up of the free world." Already it had gone to every home in Germany, France, Britain, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, Canada, and Switzerland, and to key areas of South America, Africa, and Asia. It had been translated into 24 languages.

Commissioner McLaughlin said, "This is very important to our way of life. Moral Re-Armament has been a great help to us," he told Admiral Staton. "I personally have taken a great interest in our integration and racial problems and I sincerely feel that these problems have not been anything like as keen and sharp and difficult to deal with since your plays were put on here at the National Theater in 1958. Much better racial relations have existed since then."

Copies of the handbook were also presented to Commissioner David B. Karrick and Engineer Commissioner Alvin C. Welling.

There will be a meeting in the Willard Hotel, Washington, Sunday at 4 o'clock to launch the distribution of the handbook to every home.

[From the Alexandria (Va.) Gazette, Mar. 28, 1960]

IDEOLOGY BOOKLET DISSEMINATION PLANNED

The distribution of the handbook "Ideology and Coexistence" to the 552,000 homes in the Washington area was launched at a public meeting Sunday at the Willard Hotel in Washington.

Rear Adm. Adolphus Staton, U.S. Navy (retired), holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor and the Navy Cross said, "Khrushchev says 'we will bury you,' but we don't need to make it easy for him by sticking our heads in the sand. 'Ideology and Coexistence' has the best answer to communism we know."

"In this cold war, which is an ideological war, every man, woman, and child has a battle station. Everyone is now on the front line," he added.

Dr. Douglas Cornell, Executive Officer of the National Academy of Sciences, presiding, told the meeting that the handbook had already been distributed to 75 million families in the free world.

"This handbook," Dr. Cornell said, "draws the battleline for our times. The issue is man control or God control. The aim of the handbook is to strengthen the backbone of freedom and to instill the will to fight for what is right."

[From the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Advertiser, Mar. 31, 1960]

I COVER SUBURBIA

(By "Tar" Paulin)

HURRICANE OF COMMON SENSE

A thin little pamphlet an average reader can digest in 20 minutes came to my desk over the weekend. I opened it with somewhat the same cynical attitude with which I approach all propaganda.

As I progressed through its 31 pages of text, something almost wondrous and magical happened to me. My cynicism gave way to a deeper, greater emotion—moral rearmament.

By the time you read this column you too should have a copy of this same pamphlet—552,000 copies have been mailed in the Washington area. It is titled, "Ideology and Coexistence." Read it and reread it. It's powerful. It takes the offensive against communism; it uses a devastating weapon, greater than all the bombs of all the nations of the world combined. Devastating, yet simple . . . superior ideology.

I'm a dedicated anticommie. I cheer Moral Re-Armament. Its little pamphlet is like a hurricane of common sense sweeping away the fog of confusion.

[From the Suburban Record, Mar. 31, 1960]

MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

District of Columbia Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin and Rear Adm. Adolphus Staton, retired, of Chevy Chase, look at the 75 millionth copy of the Moral Re-Armament handbook, "Ideology and Coexistence," which was presented to the Commissioner Sunday. He and Admiral Staton attended the meeting launching the mail distribution of the handbook to 552,000 homes in the metropolitan area. Admiral Staton, holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor, said Sunday: "Khrushchev says, 'We will bury you,' but we don't need to make it easy for him by sticking our heads in the sand. This handbook has the best answer to communism we know."

I might also add that the radio and television stations have given considerable assistance to the spreading of the

pamphlet in the Washington area. It is quite significant when speaking of Moral Re-Armament to state at the outset that Moscow and the Communists have vigorously attacked not only this handbook but the whole idea of Moral Re-Armament. To quote from a recent item in the Alexandria (Va.) Gazette, Admiral Staton said that the handbook had been bitterly attacked by the Communist press and radio. Further, Admiral Staton commented:

In this cold war, which is an ideological war, every man, woman, and child has a battle station. Everyone is now on the front line. Khrushchev says, "We will bury you," but we don't need to make it easier for him by sticking our heads in the sand. "Ideology and Coexistence" has the best answer to communism we know.

To quote again from Konrad Adenauer:

Communism has gone through many phases, Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, now Khrushchev, but one thing has remained unaltered, its aim of world domination. We must be prepared to continue the ideological struggle for several decades yet, but I am convinced Khrushchev's grandchildren will not be Communists.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I would like under unanimous consent to place in the RECORD certain exhibits which prove the logic of Konrad Adenauer's statement. I would like to quote the Department of Justice memorandum of April 1, 1949:

Moral Re-Armament is a world force having as its principal objective adequate ideological preparedness of free nations for the ideological conflicts in which the world is now engaged, and its objectives are recognized by the Department as worthy and helpful in the strengthening of democratic forces throughout the world.

WORLD DISTRIBUTION OF "IDEOLOGY AND COEXISTENCE"

The handbook "Ideology and Coexistence," prepared by Moral Re-Armament, has been published as a weapon to put America and the free world on the offensive in the ideological struggle. It lays bare the Communist plan for world takeover and shows how every man can arm himself with a superior ideology.

A nationwide distribution of this handbook is being prepared for mailing to the 50 million households of America in the next few months. This distribution will begin in Washington, D.C. In the next few days 545,000 copies will go to every home in the Washington area.

Seventy-five million homes in Europe, Canada, Africa, and Asia will have received this handbook by the end of March, in 24 languages. The following distribution has already taken place: 6,700,000 homes of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Iceland; every family in Holland and Switzerland; 4,340,000 homes of Canada; the leadership of Japan, the Philippines, India, and Latin American countries; 50 million families of Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Australia (by end of March).

In Cyprus former EOKA fighters distributed the handbook to every Greek home. In the Nordic north of Scandinavia it was delivered by dogsled or dropped by post bag from airplanes. In the South Indian State of Kerala 3 million people read the manifesto in their newspapers before the recent elections, in which the Communists were defeated.

Moscow has vigorously attacked this handbook on a world scale through Tass (Soviet News Agency), Pravda, Izvestia, Trud, and the

World Marxist Review. In recent months there have been 100 attacks over the Moscow, Tashkent, and Peking radios, noting that this handbook is putting an end to the ideological softening up of the free world.

The world distribution of this handbook is being financed entirely by voluntary contributions and the sacrifice of many people. The cost of printing, publishing, and distributing this handbook in the United States of America will be borne by patriotic Americans determined to cut through the present confusion and clarify the cold war issues, and who see in this manifesto the safeguarding of their heritage.

For the distribution to every home in America, \$2,500,000 is needed. For the distribution to every home in the Washington area, \$35,000 is required.

Don Belding, former chairman of Foote, Cone & Belding, leading U.S. advertising agency, and civilian aide to the Secretary of the Army for southern California, says, "Moral Re-Armament is the strongest single force in the world today from the ideological standpoint in answering communism. We must multiply it a hundred times to create a wave of ideological pressure that will roll back communism. Major investment in this force is essential to maintain freedom."

I would like to quote from the booklet itself a morsel of the kind of contents it is giving to the world that reads it:

But of course we must realize that we cannot coexist eternally. One of us must go to his grave. We do not want to go to the grave. They (the Western powers) don't want to go to their graves either. So what must be done? We must push them to their graves.

So said Khrushchev in Warsaw in 1956. In answer, Mr. Sid Fuller, the well-known west coast news commentator, in a broadcast over NBC in Los Angeles said in part:

How to deal with such a corrosive thing? There is only one way. With an ideology diametrically opposed. This is the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. Here in MRA is a catalyst that first unites and then releases the enormous moral potential of all men of good will, whatever their racial or spiritual background.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I include the entire booklet in the RECORD.

IDEOLOGY AND COEXISTENCE—MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

"Upon a foundation of changed lives permanent reconstruction is assured. Apart from changed lives no civilization can endure." (Dr. Frank Buchman, 1934.)

"There is a wrong way and a right way for statesmanship. Moral Re-Armament has conclusively demonstrated in some of the most critical national and international deadlocks that when the fear, hate, and greed in man is changed, solutions are rapidly achieved. This is the panorama before us—so simple that many miss it, so fundamental we cannot do without it." (Dr. Frank Buchman, 1959.)

"The choice for America is Moral Re-Armament or communism." (Adm. William H. Standley, Former Chief of Naval Operations and U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, March 24, 1959.)

"The choice for America is war or coexistence. And you must choose." (Premier Nikita Khrushchev, to Vice President Nixon, July 24, 1959.)

We are at war. World war III has begun. Even while we were celebrating the end of the war of arms in 1918, the Soviet was planning to defeat and enslave the free world through the war of ideas.

There are two ideologies bidding for the world today. One is Moral Re-Armament, which believes that God's mind should control the world through human nature that has been changed; the other is communism, which believes that man's mind should control the world through human nature that has been exploited. One or the other must win.

Communism is an ideology. That is, it is an idea that dominates the whole of a person—his motives, his thinking, his living—so that he fights with a strategy to get everybody else to live the same way. It cannot, therefore, be met on the military or economic level alone, but only by a superior ideology.

Communism has a plan to take over our country. We hear of people behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains whose minds have been brainwashed, but we may not realize that our own minds are being brainwashed by much of what we read in the newspapers, by what we see on television or in the theater, by what we hear on the radio and even in the pulpit. The Communists do not need to start any new organization when they have so successfully infiltrated those that exist already. It is extremely foolish to believe that a man who follows the party line is not a Communist.

Moral Re-Armament is a superior ideology, with a superior strategy, because it meets the needs of the whole man and because it is available for all men everywhere—non-Communist and Communist alike. It is far more than the answer to communism. It is the revolutionary idea that is putting right what is wrong and producing for every nation the incorruptible and inspired leadership that alone can create a full and free life for every nation. Radio Moscow itself has said (January 1953):

"Moral Re-Armament is a global ideology with bridgeheads in every nation in its final phase of total expansion throughout the world. It has the power to capture radical revolutionary minds. It is contaminating the minds of the masses. It substitutes for the inevitable class war, the eternal struggle between good and evil."

William Penn put the alternative of Moral Re-Armament or communism clearly when he said:

"Men must choose to be governed by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by tyrants."

Our life and liberty depend not only upon our making the right choice and having the right strategy but also upon our knowing the intentions of the Communist and what he is doing in our midst.

These pages are written that the nature of the ideological conflict may be clearly seen and that the evidence of the victorious answer, given at the Moral Re-Armament summit strategy conferences at Mackinac Island, Mich., and in Caux, Switzerland, may be more widely known and acted upon.

Dr. Hans Koch, who represented the German Foreign Office at the Moral Re-Armament Summit conference at Mackinac in 1957, and who was Chancellor Adenauer's adviser on Soviet affairs said:

"The summit conferences that will produce true unity in the world will be those held by Moral Re-Armament in Europe and America. They are concerned with the whole world and every aspect of current events."

"What Stalin feared most was the ideology which could unite countries as far apart as Japan and Germany; which could unite all other nations with these two; which could unite free East and West and black and white in an ideological answer to communism."

"Moral Re-Armament is preparing the way for the next great phase in history. It provides the platform where East and West, Germany and France, the Anglo-Saxons and the colored races unite."

THE AIM OF MORAL REARMAMENT

At a birthday celebration given in his honor in the Hans Sachs Haus in Gelsenkirchen, Germany, on June 4, 1950, Dr. Frank Buchman recounted how 12 years earlier he was walking in the Black Forest near Freudenstadt:

"The world was on the edge of chaos," he said. "Just as today, everyone longed for peace and prepared for war."

"As I walked in those quiet woods one thought kept coming to me—'moral and spiritual rearmament, moral and spiritual rearmament. The next great movement in the world will be a movement of moral rearmament for all nations'."

"A few days later I was in London in the East End where the British labor movement began. The workers responded. Moral Re-Armament went to the world * * *

"Only the very selfish or the very blind person is content to leave the world as it is today. Most of us would like to change the world. The trouble is, too many of us want to do it our own way."

"Some people have the right diagnosis, but they bring the wrong cure. They reckon without God and without a change in human nature, and the result is confusion, bitterness, and war. Other people are quite sure they have the answer in theory, but they always want somebody else or some other nation to begin. The result is frustration and despair."

"When the right diagnosis and the right cure come together, the result is a miracle. Human nature changes and human society changes."

"What are you living for? What is your nation living for? Selfish men and selfish nations can drag the world to total disaster. A new type of man, a new type of statesmanship, a new type of national policy—this is our instant need, and this is the purpose for which Moral Re-Armament has come to birth."¹

THE AIM OF COMMUNISM

The trained Communist knows what he is fighting for. He has said it and sung it for years:

" 'Tis the final conflict,

Let each stand in his place.

The International shall be the human race."

The objectives and problems of life are for him straightforward. They have only to be referred to one standard, one motive—do they or do they not help forward world revolution and world domination? Lenin knew no other test for conduct. "Promises," he said, "are like piecrusts—made to be broken." Radio Moscow said (Aug. 20, 1950):

"From the point of view of Communist morality, only those acts are moral which contribute to the building up of a new Communist society."

The man or nation without an ideology is bound to be confused by the twists and turns of Soviet diplomacy. Nobody can see clearly if he is fearful, self-seeking, or without an ideology. Little crumbs of encouragement are thrown before him and as he greedily pecks them up, he is led down the garden path.

To true revolutionaries the issue has always been clear. As early as 1914 Trotsky said:

"The time for fireside politics is over. We are now in the phase of permanent revolution. It will go on, without interruption, until one side or the other is lying conquered on the ground."

George Dimitrov, when Secretary-General of the Communist International, in his

¹ This and other quotations from Dr. Frank Buchman are taken from "Remaking the World."

speech to its Seventh Congress, underlined the steadfastness of purpose of the party. He said:

"We are sometimes accused of departing from our Communist principles. What stupidity, what blindness! We should not be Marxists and Leninist revolutionaries, not disciples of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, if we were not capable of completely altering our tactics and our mode of action as circumstances may dictate. But all the ins and outs of our tactics are directed to a single end—the world revolution."

Khrushchev feels that that day is drawing near. In 1959 he said:

"Communism will sooner or later rule the world. We live in the epic of revolution."

In the same year he told visiting American industrialists that "the day will come when we will bury you." His chief weapon is ideology. He said (June 1957):

"The Communists will destroy capitalism, not with nuclear weapons but through the spread of the ideology. We are as sure of this as we are sure the sun will rise tomorrow. All we have to do is grease our ideology with butter."

Kozlov said (July 1959): "My trip to America has only confirmed what I thought of this country before I arrived. I repeat the words of Mr. Khrushchev who asserted that 'the children of the present-day Americans will live in a Communist society.'"

Communists change their tactics; their goal remains the same. Whether they talk peace or talk war they remain at war. Today it is not expedient for them to advance their revolution by physical force. They believe they are winning without it.

COMMUNIST STRATEGY

The strategy outlined by Lenin has been, and is being, followed. He said:

"First we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States, which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack. It will fall like an overripe fruit into our hands."

The new party line for the United States was laid down in Moscow in January 1959, during the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the Washington staff of the Scripps-Howard newspapers report (Aug. 15, 1959). Their statement says that the two American representatives who attended brought back this directive: "Tone down 'militant action'; get back into the 'mainstream' of American life" and that the details now quickly being planned call for—

1. Infiltration of the labor movement, particularly steel, auto, and transportation unions.

2. Formation of a Communist youth movement to develop replacements for aging Communist leaders.

3. Getting more Negro members; stressing integration troubles.

4. Putting Communists into neighborhood associations (Parent-Teachers Associations, etc.)

Speaking at the Moral Re-Armament Conference at Caux, August 1959, Mr. Arthur Baker, 22 years chief of parliamentary staff of the Times of London, outlined four current aims of Communist strategy to divide Europe. He said:

"First, Divide Britain from Germany, France, and the United States. We fall for that in Britain as ripe apples fall from trees. We even attack Chancellor Adenauer to whom we owe so much, who has been an ideological rock to Europe's security."

² In Budapest, Dec. 1, 1959, Khrushchev said: "We shall never forgo our ideological principles. We are waging and shall wage an implacable struggle for the Marxist-Leninist ideology, for the triumph of the ideals of communism."

"Second. Promote Western trade with Russia and China to the detriment of trade with the free nations. For example, we have recently signed a trade agreement with Russia which will reduce our timber imports from Finland and make both British and Finnish economy more dependent on Russia.

"Third. Encourage steady organized breakdown of moral standards and so weaken Britain's moral fiber.

"Fourth. Advocate the abolition of nuclear weapons and promote a concept of peaceful coexistence that will mean death. Russia encourages people in the West to do as they please while communism takes over their country.

"Thank God," he added, "we have this force of Moral Re-Armament—that is the only thing standing between us and Communist takeover."

STAGES OF COMMUNIST EXPANSION

It is well to recall the stages by which the Soviet has arrived at its present position and how divine initiative has given moral Re-Armament the answering strategy.

(A) Military: In 1939 the Soviet was the only country under Communist control. Of the three main powers ultimately engaged in the war against Nazi Germany only she gained territory.

"She became enriched by the addition of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the eastern provinces of Poland, Bessarabia, and Bukovina from Rumania, the Carpathian-Ruthenia province of Czechoslovakia, half of East Prussia from Germany, slices of Finland, Tannu Tura, Dairen, and Port Arthur from China, and the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin from Japan. Quite an impressive record for a power said to be 'in the forefront of the fight against imperialism.'"

(B) Political: All this gave the Soviet strength for her second stage of expansion. As the Red army deployed across Eastern Europe it was accompanied by trained Communists of many countries. While war-weary nations refused to be disturbed and the government in Britain hoped for the best from its late, heroic allies, the Communists went to work. A pattern soon emerged. United fronts were formed in which Communists demanded the key positions. Then opposition was removed by intimidation, exile, or execution. Rigged elections followed and another country was absorbed into the Communist bloc with every appearance of legality.

By 1947 the democracies had almost collapsed. In Italy and France, in particular, there was widespread and growing disorder. In Britain there was heavy and increasing unemployment coupled with the slackening of production. Coal was the key. "Give me coal and I will give you a foreign policy," said the Foreign Minister in 1947. The Soviet thought that their hour had come. Three things prevented this:

(1) On June 5, 1947, the announcement of the Marshall plan. It was violently opposed by the Communists because it saved Europe from collapse.

(2) The formation, November 24, 1947, of the Schuman Government in France and its resolute action.

(3) The ideological initiative of Moral Re-Armament in creating through changed men, totally committed to a superior ideology, the conditions under which the Marshall plan and the Schuman plan could work and particularly in effectively defeating the Communist plan to take over the Ruhr and the British coalfields.

The president of the Warwickshire miners, Mr. Frank Painter, said (June 1948):

"We had no ideology at all in the British coal industry except that of materialism. But Moral Re-Armament has brought a better

idea. It has not only given real teamwork and better output, but it has sent many miners like myself across the world to give evidence of an answer, tried and tested in our British coalfields; and now given to the nations."

Commenting on this development, the Birmingham Post said:

"The new spirit is so revealing itself in increased output, that, according to one computation based on recent figures, if the same results were obtained in all British coalfields, the target of 200 million tons a year (1947) would be exceeded by 30 million tons."

British coal miners helped to take the answer to the Ruhr. Herr Fritz von Velsen, managing director, Nordstern Coal Mines (4,000 miners), Gelsenkirchen, Germany, writes (July 1959):

"The simple facts are that in the economic and political breakdown in Germany following the war the Communists had made themselves so strong that they had an average of 73 percent of their men in the workers' councils of the coal and steel concerns of the Ruhr. After that training and the change of heart that many of us found in Moral Re-Armament this Communist influence has gone down to 3 percent and the power of the party on a mass scale has been broken. In my own mine, Nordstern, where the men had elected 90 percent Communist representatives and which had become notorious throughout Europe for its messages of greeting to Communist countries, the men and the atmosphere have so changed that people come from many countries to find the answer here. The Indian Minister of Labor and Planning, Mr. G. L. Nanda, has just told me that he learned more after 2 days with us last week than in the rest of his European tour together."

The failure of the Communist plan to take over in 1947 led to a change in their tactics. The American determination, shown by the European recovery plan and the point 4 plan coupled with their resistance in South Korea (1950) and possession of the atom bomb, meant that their objectives could not be immediately achieved by revolution or armed force.

(C) Economic: The strategic target of the Communists now became the crippling of the economies of the free world. Britain in Europe and Japan in Asia were particularly vulnerable for, if they cannot produce and sell enough goods to pay for the food they need, they must starve or lose their independence. Trade is the Soviet weapon to bring this about, just as trade is their weapon to capture millions for the Communist ideology.

The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. John Diefenbaker, speaking in London in the Albert Hall said (November 4, 1958):

"The Communist world having changed its direction from open or concealed aggression to trade requires counteraction by the free world.

"Trade has become a major weapon in the Communist world offensive. First it was the U.S.S.R., and now Red China has joined in an Asian trade onslaught, intended to capture markets, and with and through them, the minds of free men. The Communist drive is designed to undermine the economic strength of the free world."

Molotov clearly outlined the policy when, in 1946, he said:

"We are not fighting America as yet. But once we have deprived her of her markets, crisis will follow and cause confusion. After we have taken her markets in Europe, expelled her from Asia and elsewhere, she will have no market where to dump her merchandise. She will curtail her produc-

tion and then will follow unemployment. Our opportunity to square accounts with America will be at hand."

To achieve control over her intended victims it has been the constant Communist strategy for the last 12 years to increase the economic strength of the Soviet bloc, and to decrease the economic strength of the free world.

(1) Increasing the economic strength of the Soviet bloc: To reach this end the Soviet subordinates the standard of living in the countries she controls to strategic requirements and organizes each country to produce what it can most effectively contribute to the common goal, irrespective of its own needs. The cumulative strength of this combined force is already having a marked effect and is on the increase. It has also succeeded in severing trade links with the free world and in binding countries to the Soviet bloc by economic ties on which their existence comes to depend.

The Soviet no longer has to begin with military or political conquest. She puts out economic baits that are particularly tempting to countries with newly won independence, who feel that their shaky economy cannot afford to turn down these below-market priced goods or loans. The Soviet plan is to make these "client states" into dependent states, controlled states and, where possible, satellite states.

In 1952 Finland signed a 5-year trade agreement with Soviet Russia. Trade with Russia increased to 17 percent of the exports. In 1958, when the Communist Party won 25 percent of the seats in Parliament, Russia began a trade boycott to force Finland to change the composition of the Cabinet.

The Finnish Parliamentarian, Mrs. Borg-Sundman, who is also Vice-President of the World Council of Women, speaking at the Moral Re-Armament Conference, at Mackinac, July 1959, warned other nations to equip themselves with the positive ideology before trading with nations ruled by a negative ideology.

"One part of the world uses trade as an ideological weapon to gain control," she said. "The other part uses trade for selfish, divisive ends."

Finland failed to heed the warning the general secretary of the Finnish Communist Party had given in 1953 when he said: "Our plan is to increase trade with Communist countries up to a point where it plays a decisive part in the national economy. Then Russia's markets will suddenly be withdrawn, resulting in economic chaos and panic. In the resulting chaos we will demand seats in the Cabinet and this time they will not throw us out."

"This," said Mrs. Borg-Sundman, "is what nearly happened in the autumn of 1958 and only through a series of miraculous events in which men united by patriotic and ideological conviction played an effective role were the Communists kept out of the Cabinet."

Trade, subsidized goods, loans, are all part of an ideological plan. The Czechoslovak Statistical Institute, in a reference to the Soviet trade campaign in southeast Asia and the Middle East, states (1955):

"Czechoslovak participation in this expansion of trade is not guided by purely practical considerations. . . . It follows a plan carefully drawn up in accordance with political considerations."

Khrushchev has said: "Through trade we can destroy other powers that are opposed to us."

* See "The Third World War," p. 16.
* Russian sales to the world at large have grown from \$250 million in the late 1930's to \$1,800 million in 1950, to more than \$4 billion in 1958. Import figures for those years are about the same as the export figures. (New York Times, July 4, 1959.)

* See "The Third World War," by Harry Welton (p. 8)—a book which has been helpful in thought and quotation.

(2) To decrease the economic strength of the free world: The Soviet has concentrated on decreasing the quantity of goods produced in the free world for export by fomenting strikes and unrest and on increasing their cost by raising wages and the cost of production so that they are priced out of the world markets. Uncertainty itself furthers the Soviet plan. Many markets and contracts have been lost by the industrial unrest which meant that no fixed price or firm delivery date could be given.

In 1948 the Communist Party's national executive of Great Britain laid down the basic principle "that the factory or industrial group is the most important form of Communist organization." It was an inevitable decision in economic war. John Gollan, now secretary general of the Communist Party of Great Britain, stated: "The factory branch is the most important unit of Communist organization."

The Communists concentrated on those industries and places which contribute most to the export trade and where a few men pulled out can cause the greatest resulting stoppage of work. As the London Daily Herald said, "If they cannot stop exports at the factory they always end by fomenting strikes at the docks." But here, as in the coalfields, Moral Re-Armament had a counter strategy. Tom Keep, a militant member of the Communist Party for 22 years, brought a delegation from industrial Britain to Mackinac in 1951. He said in September 1957:

"We were the leaders of the local, national, and international strikes which had more or less regularly paralyzed the London docks, lifeline of Britain. For 7 years prior to that time there had been one or more major stoppages which we led in the docks of Britain every year.

"At Mackinac we found something superior to any economic materialistic formula or theory. We found an answer to class war, violent revolution, poverty, and suffering embodied in four absolute moral standards. We found a universal ideology of love capable of changing men. It reunited my family and brought me back from communism to the Catholic Church.

"We returned to London pledged to take this ideology and apply it in negotiation of some very difficult problems. It was an entirely new approach.

"By persistence and faith we succeeded—to the extent that since 1951 not a single strike has occurred on the level we had known in the past and there have only been two serious stoppages."

The Communists set out to control the trade unions, especially through the shop stewards. Bill Carron, president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union of Great Britain, has described these men in key positions as subversives "acting under the dictates of a foreign power with the declared purpose of wrecking Britain's economy."

Lenin said:

"It is necessary . . . to resort to all sorts of stratagems, maneuvers, illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, only so as to get into trade unions, to remain in them and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs."

Councillor John Pate, of Sheffield, Amalgamated Engineering Union shop steward, said:

"But for MRA all Britain's basic industries would have been taken over by communism. MRA came to Britain and gave workers a positive alternative and a strategy to build a new world."

THE ANSWER MORAL RE-ARMAMENT BRINGS

Moral Re-Armament is giving men a moral ideology, a new motive for industry and

trade, and a new basis for united action. Dr. Buchman says:

"Only a new spirit in men can bring a new spirit in industry. Industry can be the pioneer of a new order, where national service replaces selfishness, and where industrial planning is based upon the guidance of God. When labor, management, and capital become partners under God's guidance, then industry takes its true place in national life."

The new type of man that Moral Re-Armament is producing finds that the basic problem of industry is not economic but moral. The four moral standards—absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness, absolute love—make it possible to decide issues on the basis of what is right and not who is right.

This is the alternative to the class struggle for industry and is through the adoption of class struggle by labor and management that communism has been able to make such inroads into key industries. Its grip can only be broken by men and women armed with the strategy, the unity, and the commitment of a superior ideology. This comes through the acceptance of the guidance of God when every man can know the immediate action he can and must take.

Kommunisti, the Finnish monthly Communist paper, published (March 1956) a 15-page article by a leading Communist, Jorma Simpura, which gave the warning that Moral Re-Armament is no bourgeois movement but an ideology with its roots well grounded in labor whose impact should not be underrated. It described the philosophy of MRA as "simple and straightforward," said that it demanded change from employer as well as employee, that it spoke to big masses with a punch and followed up its ideological spadework with "reckless" infiltration and penetrating attack.

Illustrations of the effectiveness of this ideology in industry could be taken from all around the world. One of the "five giants of American labor" lay dying. He said to a Senator, "Tell America that when Frank Buchman changed John Riffe he saved American industry \$500 million." On his appointment as executive vice president, of the CIO (5,500,000 workers) in April 1953—13 years after meeting Dr. Buchman—John Riffe listed these aims for labor:

"(1) To set the pace for unity in the Nation by achieving unity within its own house.

"(2) To create with industry a pattern of teamwork that will sell democracy to the millions.

"(3) With the united strength of labor and industry to back the Government in a foreign policy that will win all nations."

"Whatever you have done to John Riffe, I'm all for it," said Phillip Murray, president of the CIO and United Steel Workers. Murray publicly said of Moral Re-Armament:

"It is a call to action against the divisive materialism which is our unseen enemy. It must appeal to all whose fight is for a new social order as an essential defense of democracy."

Maurice Mercier, Secretary-Treasurer of the Textile Workers' Union (Force Ouvrière) France, said:

"Not one cry of hate, not one drop of blood shed, not 1 hour of work lost—this is the greater revolution to which MRA calls management and labor alike."

The ideology of Moral Re-Armament enables wage structures to be quickly altered, taxes lowered, and the standard of living raised. It enables the enforced planning of the Soviet bloc to be met by the voluntary joint action that is necessary to make effective the European Common Market, NATO, and all schemes to save and extend the free world.

Adenauer and Schuman have both testified again and again to the major part played by Moral Re-Armament in creating

unity in Europe. As a sign of their appreciation both countries have conferred high decorations on Dr. Frank Buchman. Just before he launched the Schuman plan, Robert Schuman wrote:

"Moral Re-Armament brings us a philosophy of life applied in action. . . . To provide teams of trained men, ready for the service of the state, apostles of reconciliation and builders of a new world, that is the beginning of a far-reaching transformation of society in which the first steps have already been taken."

"My plan will never succeed," Schuman went on to say, "unless hearts are changed on both sides of the Rhine."

The chairman of the advisory council of the coal and steel pool of the Schuman plan's high authority, Helmuth Buerckhardt, said (September 1953):

"The framework and organization we have been able to set up has sprung in large measure from the ideas and philosophy of Caux. . . . Caux shows us how to deal with the problems that are raised by the need to bring unity to Europe."

Dr. Adenauer wrote to Dr. Buchman in 1951 and said:

"In recent months we have seen the conclusion, after some difficult negotiations, of important international agreements. Here, also, Moral Re-Armament has played an unseen but effective part in bridging differences of opinion between the negotiating parties."

In June 1958 in another of his many messages to Dr. Buchman, Dr. Adenauer wrote:

"Now is the time to work more strongly than ever for European unity through Moral Re-Armament. Unless the work of Moral Re-Armament is carried forward, peace in the world cannot be maintained."

A TRAINED COMMUNIST SPEAKS

Gerry McManus, who was on the central executive of the Canadian Communist Party for 19 years and who was national secretary of the Canadian Seamen's Union before breaking with the party in 1950, said at Mackinac in June 1959:

"It burns me up to see our business leaders trotting off to Moscow for brainwashing and then coming back to try to brainwash the rest of us without even realizing what they are doing.

"If the leadership of the free world is sincerely interested in saving civilization, they will come to Mackinac, which is the only place in the free world where anybody can be equipped with a moral ideology. The choice is Moscow or Mackinac."

"In Canada the same fight is taking place as in other parts of the world. Tim Buck, the leader of the Communist Party of Canada, told the press in Vancouver: 'The party is gaining few new members in Canada, but is advancing because of nationwide acceptance of Communist-inspired issues.'

"The campaign for trade with the Communist countries is, of course, part of a worldwide drive for the recognition of Red China. For the Communists, trade is an ideological weapon. If you deliver even 10 percent of your national trade to the Communist world, you give them the perfect chance to create a crisis in your country any time they wish to pull the economic rug out from under you.

"For ideological reasons they are prepared to undersell any commodity on the world market. The Communists know more about using the Western economy to further their purposes than Western economists know about meeting the needs of mankind.

"If you refuse to listen to me, then at least have the common sense to listen to Lenin, who said, 'When the capitalist world starts to trade with us, on that day they will begin to finance their own destruction.'

"Moscow's strategy in promoting the recognition of Red China is to shatter our unity with America, penetrate our highest coun-

¹ See "The Third World War," p. 174.

cils, and to disrupt Canada's own national unity. Do we not realize the bitter division such a recognition will cause between French and English Canadians? As a Canadian I am convinced that Quebec will not agree to trading with the Communist world.

"Thousands like me have been standing idly by watching this world disaster take place before our eyes. We are afraid of losing our material security but forget that world security is in grave danger. We babble and play like innocent lambs while we are being led to the final slaughter.

"Dr. Frank Buchman, the initiator of Moral Re-Armament, said in his speech at the opening of the summit strategy conference: 'Could it be that the hate, greed, fear, and selfishness which create confusion and division in our own society, are the strength and essence of communism? Millions who would never join the Communist Party make its advance inevitable by the way they live. MRA has conclusively demonstrated in some of the most critical national and international deadlocks that when the fear, hate, and greed in man is changed, solutions are rapidly achieved.'

"In Canada and the United States the floodtide of communism washes over the Nation every day. The choice for us all is Moral Re-Armament or communism, and today I totally commit myself under God in the fight to build a new world which MRA has pioneered. We will win."

THE ARMED FORCES SPEAK

Gen. John J. Pershing, during World War II, wrote the foreword to the Moral Re-Armament handbook, "You Can Defend America." In it he said, "I commend its message to every American." The U.S. War Department, Bureau of Public Relations, termed this manual "probably the most challenging statement of this Nation's philosophy of national defense that has yet been written." Rear Adm. Richard E. Byrd called Moral Re-Armament "the fight for a new world, strong, clean, united, that should fire the hearts of all red-blooded Americans and stir their wills to action."

The commander in chief of the NATO forces in Central Europe, General Valluy, speaking at Caux, September 1959, promised his full support for Moral Re-Armament. The deputy chief of the French Defense Staff, General Stehlin, at the same conference, said:

"If the free world is not to be outmaneuvered by this new and very powerful weapon, ideology, we must meet the enemy on his own ground and with the same weapons. That weapon is Moral Re-Armament. If we can unite the ideological and military factors we will have a real defense of freedom. We will achieve peace and be able to build a new world."

General Béthouart, Member of the French Senate for Morocco and Vice-President of the Parliamentary Conference of NATO, also spoke and said:

"A recent congress organized by the Parliamentary Conference of NATO brought together leaders from 15 countries for the defense of the values of the free world. A unanimous resolution expressed the wish that an ideology be established as quickly as possible in opposition to the Communist ideology which is the greatest danger we face at present. That ideology is found here. It is the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. We must have the courage to say so and to spread it."

Air Commodore Nigel Blair-Oliphant, Director of Weapons Engineering of the British Air Ministry, said at Mackinac (August 1959):

"World War III is a total war because it is an ideological war that is being fought for the hearts and minds of men and nations. In the past wars have been fought on three fronts—military, economic, and political. In this war ideology controls all three fronts.

"Therefore you cannot take initiative on any one of these fronts without an ideology. Without an ideology we are being defeated separately on each front.

"There is only one answer and that is Moral Re-Armament. The summit strategy conferences at Mackinac and Caux are the ideological bases without which our missiles are worthless. Here is where men are being enlisted and trained to fight.

"At Mackinac and Caux men and women are being given the answer to the Communist line of pacifism and neutralism instead of being disarmed by it.

"In Britain the Communist line is 'better Red than dead.' In America the line is 'coexistence or war.' But the real choice in America and Britain is whether we continue to allow communism to advance or whether we match it with the superior ideology of Moral Re-Armament."

General Guisan, wartime hero and Commander-in-Chief of the Swiss Army, in a foreword to the Swiss editions of "Ideology and Coexistence," which went to every home in the country, said:

"Ideological neutrality plays the enemy's game. In Moral Re-Armament, which I have known for 20 years, a world strategy is being worked out to attack the roots of the world's ills."

Vice Adm. Morton L. Deyo, wartime commander of the North Atlantic Destroyer Fleet, said at Mackinac (October 1959):

"This is an ideological age. We in the United States are late in realizing it. Trying to run the world through politics, military measures, and foreign treaties alone is no longer adequate. Moral Re-Armament has provided an ideology so simple that all peoples can understand it, yet so effective that it can remake the world."

THE FAR EAST

The Communist strategy for the Far East is to unite the manpower of China with the industrial might of Japan and the natural resources of Indonesia. Then they would be ready for further advance.

Dr. Frank Buchman, who knows the Far East well, has paid nine visits to Japan since 1915 and enjoyed personal friendship with four generations of Japanese leadership. In 1956 he received the Order of the Rising Sun. Japanese leaders who came to the MRA assembly at Caux made this statement, which appeared on the front page of the Observer of London (July 1950):

"Russia has advanced in Asia because the Soviet Government understands the art of ideological war. It fights for the minds of men. We appeal to the governments and peoples of the West to do the same—to make themselves expert in the philosophy and practice of Moral Re-Armament, which is the ideology of the future. Then all Asia will listen."

Niro Hoshijima, senior member of the Japanese Diet, told the press in Los Angeles (January 1959):

"History will record five events in the Pacific that have been brought about by the spirit of MRA:

"(1) Reconciliation between Japan and the Philippines and payment of reparation by Japan.

"(2) Release of tension between Japan and Formosa.

"(3) Wrestling of power from the Communists in the Seinendan (the 4,300,000-strong youth organization of Japan).

"(4) Signing of Japan's reparation agreements with Indonesia and Vietnam.

"(5) Giving the basis for diplomatic talks between Japan and South Korea."

In a message to Dr. Buchman, Prime Minister Kishi said (October 1959):

"The democracies are on the defensive because of the lack of a moral ideology superior to communism. In the ideological war there is no neutrality nor coexistence.

"I am grateful for Dr. Buchman's initiative in calling this special conference at Mackinac Island to provide the basis of unity for the free nations which will put them on the offensive.

"The leaders of the free nations must pay serious attention to the work of Moral Re-Armament throughout the world if we are to win in the decisive struggle for the future of mankind."

A decisive step in the forwarding of the Communist plan would be the recognition of Red China by America and its admittance into the United Nations. It is to further this end that the Communist strategy is to get the nations to trade with Red China. They know that where businessmen have enough interests involved they will put pressure on their government to protect them.

Moral Re-Armament also enables the uncommitted nations to find an acceptable basis for cooperation. Shri R. N. Mirdha, Speaker of the Rajasthan State Assembly, India, said at Mackinac, 1959:

"India is neutralist because she does not want either the materialism of Russia and China or the materialism of America. Here at Mackinac I see the choice is not between one form of materialism and another. We have another choice—to build a world based on absolute moral standards of honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love. This is the great message I take back with me."

Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of the Mahatma, said (July 1959):

"The Indian Government took a wrong and costly step when it recognized Red China. Unless and until free Asia is fully armed and united by a superior ideology in addition to its economic and military strength, recognition of Red China by the free countries will only aid the Communist plan to further expansion in Asia.

"Why flirt with the Communists when, with the ideology of MRA, free Asia and the free world can find the unity and power that will answer communism? The Communists change, not when we compromise, but when we demonstrate a superior ideology."

COMMUNIST FRONTS

Communists frequently do not show themselves as Communists. They find they can infiltrate more effectively, for instance, as anti-Communists. They put their men and their money on both sides so that they can stir up trouble they can use. Their object is neither economic nor political but ideological. They are least likely to be spotted in their feeding of the party line and in their brainwashing by those living in moral defeat or without an ideology. Any person who is not clear morally can always be taken over somewhere and part of the Communist attack is to discover, foster, and use men's moral failures. Lenin once said, "Postpone operation until the moral disintegration of the enemy makes the delivery of the mortal blow both possible and easy."

Chou En-lai of Red China has said, "We can slip in our Communist ideology through the weak spots in men's character." The greatest fear of the Communists, therefore, is that their ideology will be countered by a superior moral ideology. Moral Re-Armament provides the security of an incorruptible leadership.

A recent Finnish visitor to the Kremlin was told that the greatest obstacle to the advance of communism was Moral Re-Armament. The Communists therefore do their best in every country to keep people away from Moral Re-Armament by misrepresentation or silence in the press, by threats, or by a whispering campaign of the lies thought to be most suitable for each community or country. At the same time they

unscrupulously and uninterruptedly push forward the plan they have for each country through a wide variety of fronts of which the following are examples:

(A) *The peace front*

To screen the economic war, a peace movement was launched at the same time. In September 1947 the Cominform was set up, of which the battlecry and name of its journal was "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy." To the accompaniment of talk of "peaceful coexistence" and "friendly competition" the Soviet set about destroying the foundations upon which the economy of the free world rested.

As long ago as 1931 Dimitri Manuilsky, then of the Lenin School of Political Warfare, declared:

"War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 to 30 years. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep, so we will begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The Capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

Peace remained the cry but war remained the reality. In 1955 Khrushchev said:

"Certain people misunderstand the Geneva Spirit. They ought to remember once and for all that we never renounce and never will renounce our ideas, our struggle for the victory of communism. There will never be such a thing as our ideological disarming." In the same year he said:

"Victory for socialism? We don't have to go to war to obtain this victory. Peaceful competition will be enough."

(B) *The cultural-exchange front*

(1) Playing the Soviet game: The peace campaign launched with the trade war today increasingly takes the form of persuading people that Communists are really people just like ourselves—peace loving and reasonable and that it is to our mutual interest to understand and do business with each other.

We should learn from recent history. Chiang Kai-shek was sold out and the mainland and Manchuria lost to Red China by our falling for the same tactics. Men, later found to be giving the Communist Party line, were successful with their deceptions and achieved the change of direction in American policy. Writers gave the party line discrediting Chiang Kai-shek (just as today they would discredit Adenauer) and saying, "When we speak of the Chinese Communists we should remember that they stand for something rather different from what is ordinarily meant by the word 'Communist'" (Eleanor Lattimore). Raymond Gram Swing went so far as to describe Chinese Communists as "agrarian radicals trying to establish democratic processes."

It is a cardinal policy of war to deceive your enemy. Are we to let him succeed again? Every move of the Communist is designed to lull us and make us feel that all is well and will be well if we go on as we are now—when in fact we are heading straight to disaster. This is the purpose of all cultural exhibitions, of Mikoyan's visit, of Kozlov's visit and his appeal to spiritual values, and for "a return to the Soviet-American 'comradeship' of World War II." When Stalin was first asked by an American to send over the Bolshoi Ballet he replied that he would like to but that he was having trouble on the Manchurian border and needed it there. It is a weapon of war.

* See "No Wonder We Are Losing," by Robert Morris, ch. VIII.

When a Montgomery, a Billy Graham, a group of Governors, Senators, or industrialists visit Moscow they are entertained there by those who are planning their funeral. Younger and weaker countries are encouraged to do business with the Soviet or Red China and so to start the process by which client states can become satellites. The youth leaders around the world are, likewise, encouraged to accept honeyed invitations to Communist-inspired youth festivals like that held in Vienna. Fortunately, many find a superior plan in Moral Re-Armament.

When a strong group of African leaders visiting Mackinac read that the Governors of nine States were to visit Moscow, they wrote to them saying:

"The British and American officials in our countries have always emphasized the dangers inherent in the Communist way of life. They tell us not to go to Russia. They tell us that the Western way of life is best and that we must imitate it.

"We came to America looking for an answer to communism and an adequate way of life for our people. But to our surprise we learn that certain American Governors and business leaders are going to Moscow. We were amazed to hear this. It has raised many questions in our minds as to whether we have been misdirected. Think of the effect of this one action on the nations of Africa.

"This is reinforced in Africa as well as in Asia, when subversive forces tell us that communism is the same thing as Christianity. What are we to think when we hear from your outstanding Christians who said in Moscow that they have seen the Cross of Christ in the Kremlin? What are we to believe? Think of the diabolical cleverness of these men who use the gullibility of American leaders to sell communism to the world.

"In Africa we say the thief is cleverer than the owner of property. He will watch you, know the time you fall asleep, and then take what he wants."

Only those with an ideology stronger than communism are ready to visit Communist-controlled countries, and only countries so armed are ready to invite trained Communists into their midst. A Member of the Finnish Parliament says:

"Statesmen need to learn to live an ideology which cures human weakness before they try to deal with nations ruled by an ideology which exploits human weakness."

(2) Playing the right game: The status quo cannot be maintained against an ideology. It is necessary to have a positive strategy and "to put right what is wrong everywhere in the world, beginning not tomorrow but today."

In an official Soviet report, July 1959, Moscow said that Khrushchev had canceled his proposed visit to Scandinavia in view of the position taken by the press and certain personalities in the northern countries. Among these were those Nordic leaders who had planned at the Moral Re-Armament strategic conferences at Caux and Mackinac, how to arouse public opinion to the ideological trap concealed in Khrushchev's visit. In a widely publicized open letter to the leadership of Scandinavia, Bishop Bengt Jonzon, of Sweden, said:

"Inviting Khrushchev to our country is the same as letting the enemy through the front line in a shooting war. It is wrong, unwise, and stupid. When we without an ideology are in contact with the Russian dynamic, the current runs towards us, but the current can be changed."

The bishop added that the only alternative to communism is to choose Moral Re-Armament, and he sent a message to Caux and Mackinac in which he said:

"Khrushchev's grandchildren will be revolutionary Christians. The trouble with

Khrushchev is that he is not revolutionary enough. He could be a magnificent revolutionary Christian."

The leader of the German Party in the Federal Republic, Heinrich Hellwege, speaking at Caux (August 1959) said:

"Despite any party political differences, I take my stand wholeheartedly beside Chancellor Adenauer in his conviction that the choice facing the world today is between moral rearmament and communism. Governments who are as convinced of Moral Re-Armament as Moscow is of communism will lead the world immediately into a new era of unity, peace, and freedom.

"If America is to face Khrushchev and his global ideological strategy without having herself an ideology, then the cause of freedom and peace will only lose out. There are in the world today only two global ideologies—communism and MRA."

Cardinal Cushing in an article headed "Background Against Which Visit Must Be Judged" (Boston Pilot, August 1959) wrote:

"Khrushchev is a dedicated man. Therein lies his strength. But he is dedicated to a godless ideology, leading to slavery. That is what makes him so dangerous.

"Men like him have been won to nobler beliefs and have become their greatest champions. But whoever thinks that we can influence Khrushchev merely by showing him how our democracy functions and how well off we are, has no conception of the passionate, hate-filled contempt for our way of living which possesses Khrushchev and company.

"Day and night, in thought and in deed, he is working with cunning determination together with his associates for the worldwide victory of communism. Every problem or situation—Berlin, Geneva, friendly visits, cultural exchanges—are used to further one primary purpose—world revolution.

"Every Christian prays: 'Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.' It is nonsense to pray like that without seriously desiring what we are praying for.

"If I really want it, then I must stand up for it, in my own life and in the life of others, in the life of the Nation, and in the life of the whole world, with all that I am and have, led by God, in community with others who feel the same obligation.

"Then indeed the miracle will be achieved and other nations and peoples will be impressed. They will follow genuine moral leadership, not material progress.

"That is ideology. That is Christianity. That is moral strength. If we do not choose this way and live it, as individuals and as nations, we choose communism, as Khrushchev wants us. His only purpose of accepting an invitation to any country is to propagate communism.

"The Scandinavian countries knew that and their people protested with such vigor that Mr. Khrushchev canceled his visit."

(C) *The church front*

It may serve the tactics of a Communist to appear religious, but his real purpose remains that expressed by Lenin when he said:

"Our struggle will never cease until the myth of God has vanished from the mind of man."

A former Communist of great distinction and authority, Mr. Eudocio Ravines,* at one time a member of the Comintern, told the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Mackinac (July 1959) that Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung met in Peking in 1958 and architected the next phase to destroy the United States

* Mr. Ravines is the founder of the Communist Party of Peru and a former professor at the Leninist Academy of Moscow. He headed the Russian delegation to mastermind the Communist takeover of Chile in the thirties, directed the second stage of the Civil War in Spain, and since his break

by capturing Latin America. He laid stress on the role to be played by the churches and said:

"Communism aims to penetrate those sections of society which are not antagonistic, to get inside them and to use them and destroy them.

"The work of infiltration goes on much more tenaciously than open party work—communism never shows its own face. This is being done through the universities of North, South, and Central America and particularly through the churches of the United States to which Russia attaches great importance.

"The fundamental crisis is spiritual, but religion itself is not enough to fill the ideological vacuum. Therefore communism is able to exploit the irrational feelings deepest in the hearts of men such as exalted nationalism and racial division."

Mr. Ravines went on to give the answer: "There is need for an ideology—a superior thinking that will satisfy the hunger for the absolute which burns in the heart of the illiterate and the educated alike. That is why Moral Re-Armament can and must make possible a new type of revolution—a revolution of the spirit. The only thing that can defend our hemisphere at this time when we face the greatest danger of our history is ideological armament. The task of all of us is to advance Moral Re-Armament throughout this hemisphere and the whole world."

Theodore Guething, a machine tool executive, said at Mackinac:

"We American businessmen don't like being fooled. As chairman of a committee I helped raise \$140,000 for one of the largest Methodist churches in Michigan. Last week the Detroit Conference of the Methodist Church adopted a policy which couldn't have been written better by Mr. Khrushchev himself. The program calls for total world disarmament, admission of Red China to the United Nations, an end to selective service, curtailment of civil defense, and the establishment of Berlin as a free city under U.N. supervision."

To try and keep Christians from an effective ideology the Communists have started a new line. Walter Ulbricht, East German Communist leader, said (July 1959): "We can put up with the church so long as it has no ideology."

"Anyone who says that we have Christianity and therefore we do not need Moral Re-Armament does not know either Christianity or Moral Re-Armament," says Bishop Jonzon of Sweden.

"So many of us Christians," he continues, "use God for our purposes instead of letting God use us for His purposes. This is Christianity. This is Moral Re-Armament. Anything less is not Christianity."

Speaking at Mackinac on the occasion of the death of Senator Don Luigi Sturzo (the patriot-priest who founded the Christian Democratic Party of Italy and inspired the postwar leadership of Chancellor Adenauer of Germany, Robert Schuman of France and Prime Minister de Gasperi of Italy), Angelo Pasetto, a former leader in the Italian

with Moscow has exposed their tactics in "The Yenan Way." He is now writing a book that is to be called "The Mackinac Way."

Speaking in Washington, January 5, 1960, Mr. Ravines said: "When I broke with communism I became a bitter anti-Communist and Moscow paid little attention to me because I was an ineffective man. But as soon as Moral Re-Armament filled the ideological vacuum in my life I became an effective force. Since then I have been the object of ruthless, repeated, Communist attacks. There are millions like me who would leave the Communist Party if they knew there was something big enough to fill the vacuum."

Communist Party who refound his Catholic faith through Moral Re-Armament, quoted Don Sturzo as saying to him:

"We must fight together because the world is in grave danger. Communism is a great menace. We must bring Christians back to living their Christianity before it is too late. That is what Frank Buchman and Moral Re-Armament are doing. Frank Buchman is a great man. You are our best allies in this fight."

(D) The coexistence front

In the Communist dictionary "coexistence" means takeover by every method short of a shooting war.

Khrushchev observed in Warsaw in 1956: "But of course we must realize that we cannot exist eternally. One of us must go to his grave. We do not want to go to the grave. They [the Western Powers] don't want to go to their graves either. So what must be done? We must push them to their graves."

R. Vaitheswaran, lecturer in economics at Hyderabad University, India, was for 6 years a member of the Communist Party. Of those 6 years he spent two and a half in jail. Recently in the Indian Administrative Service examination he was placed first among 23,000 candidates. Speaking at the MRA assembly at Mackinac, July 1959, he said:

"How can there be coexistence when the Communists have decided to fight until they rule the world? Communism would not be communism if it were not a fight to the bitter end.

"By 'coexistence' Khrushchev means that Russia retains the right to rule unrestrictedly in her own sphere. He also means freedom for Russia to spread her own ideological poison through her state-subsidized theater and propaganda. And to engineer internal revolutions and crises through the Communist Parties of the world.

"The Communist Party in every country is a united force fighting for a single world revolution.

"Coexistence gives the Soviet the right to infiltrate the democracies without the democratic countries having the right to say what they like about Soviet behavior.

"Russia goes unchallenged when she publicizes on every continent the racial division of Little Rock and the decadence of Hollywood. But America is met by strong opposition when she expresses sympathy for the captive nations.

"China is free to destroy Tibet, but America is not free to rescue Hungary.

"And the most shocking thing of all is, not that China and Russia are what they are, but that we have become what the Russians and Chinese would like us to be—their willing tools for our own destruction.

"Moral Re-Armament is democracy's true ideology. It gives democracy the moral fiber it lacks today. That is why the choice for the world is not war or coexistence. It is Moral Re-Armament or communism."

IDEOLOGY WILL DECIDE

Dr. S. D. Cornell, Executive Officer of the National Academy of Sciences, against the background of long experience in military weapons development at the top levels of the Department of Defense, speaking in Washington, in March 1957, said:

"We scientists know that the world can be destroyed between the lunch and the cocktail hour. We need, of course, to maintain our armed and scientific and productive strength. We need to develop them. But as Admiral Radford has said, the most we can do by these means is to buy time. Victory must be won by other means.

"What is basically an ideological struggle can be won only by a superior ideology. Moral Re-Armament is that ideology."

Mr. Don Belding, a leading American businessman, in a statement at Caux, July 1959, called upon American industry to support the force that was giving the ideological answer. He said:

"The solution is not military defense alone, on which we have spent \$400 billion since the end of World War II. It is more an ideological problem—not an economic, political, or merely military one. We must do more ideologically.

"The work that MRA is doing is the most important thing to answer communism. We must multiply it a hundred times to create a wave of ideological pressure that will roll communism back. If this force does not win, people in the United States will not only not have their fortunes—they will not have their lives.

"Major investment in this force is essential to maintain freedom."

Mr. Sid Fuller, in a broadcast over NBC in Los Angeles (July 23, 1959) told of his visit to the Summit Strategy Conference at Mackinac and gave the diagnosis and cure for the situation in this ideological age. He said:

"Today because of an idea, Mackinac Island may well be the arsenal of freedom. Because of Mackinac all men may yet be brothers, may look ahead to a world in which their children will walk the earth in dignity and peace.

"Like many of you, I, too, have sensed the disturbing feeling that World War III has already begun. The enemy has outsmarted us, outwitted us, by not using the weapons we had expected him to use. He is using an even deadlier tool of war. He is waging an ideological war against us. His objective is not the material wealth we have accumulated. He does not want that destroyed. He wants it for himself and in good time he means to have it.

"Instead of the material, his immediate objective is spiritual. It is the spirit of God-fearing men that he would first weaken, and then destroy. Men without the will, the moral fiber, the deep spiritual fortitude to stand firmly in defense of what is right are doomed to see their freedom lost, their God-given rights denied, their hope of love and laughter unfulfilled. The enemy knows this. He knows that without the spirit there is no will. The man corrupted is the man defenseless.

"How to deal with such a corrosive thing? There is only one way. With an ideology diametrically opposed. This is the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. Here in MRA is a catalyst that first unites and then releases the enormous moral potential of all men of good will, whatever their racial or spiritual background.

"It is impossible to visit Mackinac and come away without a firm, fresh faith that free men with God's guidance and only with God's guidance will yet remake the world and achieve lasting justice and an honorable peace for all men."

Now, Mr. Speaker, I would like to outline a bit of the effectiveness of the work in many areas of the world. In order to do this, under unanimous consent, I place the "Ideology and Coexistence" outline of world distribution in the RECORD:

IDEOLOGY AND COEXISTENCE

The handbook "Ideology and Coexistence" has been published as a weapon to put the free world on the offensive in the ideological struggle. It lays bare the Communist plan for world takeover and shows how every man can arm himself with the superior ideology.

By the end of March it will have run to 75 million copies in 24 languages. A simultaneous distribution takes place in March to every home in Britain, France, Western

Germany, and Italy—50 million. Already, 15 million copies have been distributed to every home in Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries. A nationwide distribution of "Ideology and Coexistence" to 4,300,000 homes in Canada has been completed.

WORLDWIDE DISTRIBUTION Switzerland

In one week the handbook was published in all three languages of Switzerland and distributed through the post office to 1,600,000 homes in the country, with a foreword by the wartime Commander-in-Chief and national hero, General Guisan. He wrote:

"On the ideological plane neutrality can be dangerous, for refusal to fight for what is right plays the enemy's game. I long that our whole people should face realistically the forces which confront each other today, that we draw from our traditions a relentless determination to safeguard at all costs the freedoms we inherit."

Scandinavia

A committee of Scandinavian patriots, determined to end the ideological softening up of their countries in the face of Khrushchev's offensive, met in Stockholm in November. Within a month an edition of 6,700,000 in 5 languages was being distributed to every home in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands.

It immediately became a national issue. From all over the Nordic north people wrote: "Thank God someone has at last had the courage to speak out." It triggered off violent attack in the Communist Party press in each country. The Moscow news agency, Tass, complained indignantly that "Ideology and Coexistence" has been spread in "astonomical numbers throughout Scandinavia."

Holland

Following a national press and radio campaign the handbook was distributed to 3 million homes in Holland. Four printers worked together to do it and 5,000 people were employed in the distribution of the 90 tons of printing.

Germany

The great nephew of Frederick Engels, who 112 years ago sent out Marx's "Communist Manifesto," sent the handbook to 23,000 industrialists of Western Germany. One wrote in reply asking for copies for each of his employees.

On the day that 60,000 miners marched to Bonn to protest against the government's fuel policy, German miners published the handbook in the Bonn "General Anzeiger" with the heading, "Not too much coal but too little ideology." Two Berlin newspapers printed the text of the handbook in full. Seventeen million are going to every home in Germany.

Italy

Half a million were distributed to every home in Milan. The agency carrying out the distribution reported on the very great interest aroused. People ran after their workers in the street asking for their copies.

Great Britain

Half a million have been distributed on a house-to-house basis in the Welsh mining villages, Clydeside and the boroughs of East London by a Moral Re-Armament international force in December. Every member of Parliament, every Church of England and Free Church clergyman and the leaders of the National Union of Teachers have received a copy.

As with West Germany, Italy, and France, every home in Great Britain will receive a copy. A national distribution company employing 8,000 women who will walk 350,000 miles in 10 days will cover 13,200,000 homes in the main urban areas.

Cyprus

Fifty thousand copies in Greek went to every Greek family on the island, the first copy going to Archbishop Makarios, the President-elect of Cyprus. The distribution was mainly carried out by former EOKA fighters who were convinced that an independent Cyprus needed the ideological clarity that the handbook gives. This is especially significant in view of the fact that during the present deadlock leftwing circles have been pressing the Cypriot leaders to turn to the Soviet bloc for economic assistance rather than to the Commonwealth and the Western countries. In some areas the political and trade union leaders took on the distribution. They sent it on rickety country buses to the villages where their friends took it from door to door. In Nicosia 20,000 copies were distributed by a group of students in one afternoon. A Greek Orthodox abbot took it to the villages surrounding his monastery in wild EOKA country. One man with a mobile shop distributed it in the villages where he sells his wares.

A Turkish translation has been prepared and will shortly be sent to the whole Turkish community on the island. Other copies will go to Turkey.

South Africa

An edition of a million in English and Afrikaans is being distributed in the major cities. "Die Berger," the Nationalist Party paper, wrote of it, "South Africa cannot exist in a Communist continent. That is the problem that stares us in the face. It is a serious situation but also a great opportunity. South Africa, armed with the right idea, is the one country that can yet tip the scales in Africa and Asia * * * this means that there must come a new attitude and a new decision to live for something greater than ourselves."

Nigeria

"Ideology and Coexistence" has gone to every member of the Federal and Regional Parliaments. The bar society sent it to their 600 lawyers in the country. A similar number has gone to the doctors and to the headmasters of secondary and primary schools.

Japan

Thirty thousand copies have been taken by the Defense Bureau to issue to every Army officer.

General Doi, foremost expert on Russian affairs, described the pamphlet as the best analysis of the ideological situation he had ever seen. Printed in Japanese, half a million have gone out. Each cabinet minister, diet member, and ambassador received one, as well as every top businessman and city mayor. Twelve thousand have been sent to the 46 governors and prefectural assemblymen.

Each of Japan's 40,000 schools received it, sent by the Kyodanren, the non-Communist teachers' union, with their 3-page supplement on MRA, as well as 20,000 educational officials.

South America

Portuguese and Spanish editions have been printed for the Latin American countries. Since Mikoyan's visit the Communist plan for these countries has been stepped up. Brazil is an immediate target. Two leading newspapers in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo have just printed the handbook across two pages. In Uruguay, Argentina, and Peru it has gone to the national leadership. Widespread distributions are planned.

A magazine of the Franciscan order in Peru published sections of the handbook.

Taiwan

The Secretary General to General Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Chang Chun, writes, "Your efforts to awaken the American people to the true nature of communism, to the increasing moral breakdown and materialism in

your country, and to the global ideological offensive which needs to be launched, are indeed admirable. As one long convinced that Moral Re-Armament tolerates neither communism nor materialism, I am gratified to see your booklet 'Ideology and Coexistence' as another forward step in clarifying the current confusion."

India

There is no doubt that the handbook had a real influence in the defeat of the Communists in the recent Kerala elections. It appeared in 12 daily newspapers of all communities—Hindu, Moslem, and Christian—with an estimated readership of 3 million. Fifteen thousand copies reached the key men of the city of Trivandrum and throughout the state.

A man helping with the distribution reported that in his village it changed the outlook of a number of men who had previously supported the Communists. He himself spent two evenings reading the book to a night class of 150 people. A thousand local councils received copies and 2,500 libraries in villages and towns throughout the state. A foreword to this Malayalam edition was written by Mannath Padmanabhan, the leader of the liberation movement, who used his organization to secure the maximum distribution. A further edition of 100,000 is now being printed.

"Ideology and Coexistence" has already been printed in five Indian languages and sent to all members of both houses of parliament and ministers in the central and state governments. Every delegate to the All-India Medical Conference received a copy, also every delegate to the national conference of the Praja Socialist Party. The handbook has been published serially in leading papers in Uttar Pradesh and Bengal.

Canada

To launch the national distribution of 4,340,000 handbooks to every home, 82 daily papers carried full pages, and 14 dailies carried half pages. The Canadian Broadcasting Corp. carried the news coast to coast.

MOSCOW'S REACTION TO RIVAL IDEOLOGY

The publication of "Ideology and Coexistence" in Scandinavia drew an immediate and violent reaction from Moscow. The Finnish-Soviet Society tried unsuccessfully to bring pressure to bear on the Finnish Government to prevent its publication. Tass (Soviet news agency) pointed out in a full statement that it was couched in typical cold war language and placed Moral Re-Armament among the most stubborn political circles. A series of feature articles and cartoons followed in Pravda, Izvestia, and Trud. Broadcasts from Radio Moscow repeated earlier attacks on the "apostles of class reconciliation * * * who have the power to capture radical revolutionary minds * * * an ideology in its final phase of total expansion throughout the world."

The Communist press and Communist writers in other national newspapers launched a simultaneous attack in many countries. A thousand articles appeared in Denmark alone in 1 month. Three weeks after this manifesto went out it was still the subject of editorials in the daily papers.

The pattern of Communist attack shows first that the Soviet is thoroughly scared and on the defensive. It is a new experience for them to lose the ideological initiative. They clearly fear the effect of the manifesto and of an alternative ideology, both upon their own party members and upon the mass of the people who have falsely swallowed a semi-idealistic conception of communism. Naturally, their determined attempts to get the Finnish Government to ban the book merely made the Finns read it the more.

WORLDWIDE RESPONSE

Everywhere "Ideology and Coexistence" has provoked widespread response.

In Sweden the post office made a test and found that 72 percent of copies were actually read. This compared with the previous highest readership of 40 percent from a normal postal distribution. Letters were received at the MRA headquarters at the rate of 500 a week. In marked contrast to the hostility of much press comment, practically all welcomed the clarity of the manifesto.

"MRA has dared to draw our attention to what is really going on," said one of the many letters published in the press. "For those who long to see a clear road ahead and to play their part in the battle, MRA's manifesto is marching orders." Everywhere the demand for MRA literature has zoomed in the bookshops.

In Denmark, a student at a teachers' training college asked for 200 copies at the request of his professor for use in their history classes. Study groups have been formed in every country to go through the manifesto in detail and plan the application of its truths.

A Swedish worker who had previously left the Communist Party because of his touch with Moral Re-Armament had been ostracized by his fellow workers. However, from the time that "Ideology and Coexistence" had its mass distribution in Scandinavia they not only began talking to him again, but appreciating the stand he had taken.

The general secretary of the Communist Party in Norway turned up at the MRA office in Oslo and asked for literature, saying he wanted to study the ideology of Moral Re-Armament. He went away loaded.

One of the well-known personalities in Norway, a great poet, said in a personal letter, "With the distribution of the manifesto and the debate in the press this has been the great breakthrough of Moral Re-Armament."

A group of students in Holland sent the manifesto to every student in the country. A fierce discussion took place in the student press. One student writing for further information commented on "the university storm you have evoked here." The Minister of Defense approved the distribution to the army at the discretion of commanders. One platoon commander read it—then asked for 100 copies to use in instruction classes.

Volkstrant—the mouthpiece of the Prime Minister's Catholic Peoples' Party in Holland, and owned by the Catholic Trade Union Council—on November 21, 1959, reported that "the Catholic community of Holland wholeheartedly subscribes" to the manifesto.

In Japan leading political figures, including a former Ambassador to Washington and Senator Kimura, former Defense Minister, met to plan an ideological strategy for the nation. Two Diet Members said that since reading the manifesto they had changed the lines of a party publication about coexistence. Another Diet Member took action to have deleted from the draft of the constitution a sentence recommending the acceptance of "peaceful coexistence."

A pilot distribution in a town of 17,000 homes in Canada drew an immediate attack in the Communist Party national organ, the Canadian Tribune. On the other hand, the head of the non-Communist union of 16,000 men drew attention to the manifesto in the union paper. The vicar apostolate of the Catholic Church asked that the French as well as the English edition should be made available. Some days later a letter came asking for 300 copies in German.

The foreword to the Swiss edition appeared in practically every newspaper in the country and the manifesto was the subject of editorial comment in 100 papers throughout Switzerland. One hundred letters a day were received asking for further information. The president of the Catholic Students' Union asked for copies for delegates

to the annual student conference and for speakers to explain more of the ideology of MRA.

Catholic leaders of Switzerland have warmly supported the manifesto and the Benedictine monasteries near Lucerne have recently entertained an international MRA force as a result. The St. Gallen Catholic newspaper, Otschweiz, wrote: "Shouldn't we Christians enlist in this battlefront—we above all? He who may still have doubts should read how fighting Communists found in Caux the Catholic faith of their fathers . . . It is perhaps our bad conscience that makes us feel superior to Moral Re-Armament, to Frank Buchman's movement, to Caux. Let us take care we do not miss the bus, that we don't exclude ourselves from these pioneering, sound-thinking people who are summoning us to this mighty movement of the Spirit."

The reaction to the gauntlet being thrown down so clearly in Cyprus has been immediate. "MRA or communism" is discussed on street corners and in coffee shops and clubs in every town and village. All the main papers have carried articles. A well-read column in one paper has been occupied every day with readers' letters.

The beginning of the Greek distribution was marked by a prominent article in the leading paper, Ethnos. This coincided with an announcement over the radio by the Cyprus Broadcasting Corp., and in many of the leading newspapers, of an invitation by Archbishop Makarios to Dr. Buchman to come to Cyprus.

One of the leading Finnish businessmen said, "The distribution brought new courage to the whole country."

A well-known international figure was due to speak on Oslo Radio on nuclear disarmament and the banning of the bomb. Radio authorities said that since the distribution of the manifesto they could not afford to have him talk. Peoples' eyes were opened. The talk was canceled.

WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM?

Up to now this operation in Europe and Asia is costing roughly \$2,800,000—the distribution to the 15 million homes in Great Britain \$560,000.

This money is being raised through the sacrifice and conviction of men and women who see in MRA the one hope of the free world. Businessmen have realized capital assets and made them available. One man sold a block of apartments and gave \$56,000. Many have sold life insurances, property, jewelry. A company lawyer who has already given all his capital pledged his life insurance. A married man who had just inherited \$25,200 gave the entire amount. A musician gave her grand piano.

This operation has involved the enlistment of the paper, printing and distribution industries on a vast scale.

Paper for the next Malayalam edition has been given free of charge by a Bengal firm. Ten thousand copies of the Hindi edition are being given by another firm.

In Finland, 60 tons of paper were required for the manifesto. The usual delivery time is 3 months. It was needed immediately in order to be ready for distribution before December 1, 1959, which was the last day on which the post office accepted bulk deliveries before Christmas. The paper was obtained in 5 days from those who appreciated the ideological effort being made—an example of how industry becomes interested ideologically when the program is big enough to be effective.

Two hundred tons of paper were specially made for the British edition at a minimum profit by the British paper industry. Swedish pulp and paper firms have made a contribution for the French edition. The printing costs are being borne by Germany, a unique gift to meet a unique crisis in world affairs.

The scale of the distribution is one of the greatest ever undertaken for any publication on record. The copies distributed in Scandinavia were sufficient to fill a freight train of 33 cars. In parts of Greenland the manifesto was dropped by airplane. Reindeer sled carried it to parts of Lapland and it was delivered by dog sled to huts in tiny villages.

AMERICA'S OFFENSIVE

The Communist ideology is spread in America through the vast financial resources of Moscow; the superior ideology of Moral Re-Armament is spread through voluntary and sacrificial giving by those who want to fight to restore to America her true heritage. It is a priority investment for free men who treasure their freedom and are determined to see freedom extended to the whole world.

To print and distribute and advertise the distribution of 545,000 copies to every home in an area like Washington, D.C., costs approximately \$35,000.

To reach each of the 50 million homes of America with a copy will cost approximately \$2,500,000.

Don Belding, former chairman of Foote, Cone & Belding, leading U.S. advertising agency, civilian aid to the Secretary of the Army for southern California, says, "Moral Re-Armament is the strongest single force in the world today from the ideological standpoint in answering communism. We must multiply it a hundred times to create a wave of ideological pressure that will roll back communism."

"If this force does not win, people in the United States will not only not have their fortunes—they will not have their lives. Major investment in this force is essential to maintain freedom."

The last paragraph of this outline closes with the following:

If this force does not win, people in the United States will not only not have their fortunes, they will not have their lives. Major investment in this is essential to maintain freedom.

I might like to demonstrate now, Mr. Speaker, some of the tools that are used with the investments made. Under unanimous consent I place a full page which appeared in the December 17, 1959, Washington Evening Star, entitled "The Ideology That Will Win," at this point in the RECORD:

THE IDEOLOGY THAT WILL WIN

"I earnestly make this suggestion as I start this journey tonight. That you, and those close to you, join with me in a renewed dedication to our moral and spiritual convictions, and in that light reexamine our own record, including our shortcomings." (Dwight D. Eisenhower, December 3, 1959.)

There are two ideologies bidding for the world today. One is Moral Re-Armament which believes that God's mind should control the world through human nature that has been changed; the other is communism, which believes that man's mind should control the world through human nature that has been exploited. God's ideology will win.

Time is running out. No man or nation can escape the choice—Moral Re-Armament or communism. Khrushchev offers the false alternatives of coexistence or war, disarmament or nuclear annihilation. William Penn put before America the only alternative: "Men must choose to be governed by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by tyrants."

The world awaits a miracle to transform the attitudes of our time and create unity. We need a miracle of the spirit that will bring the light of an answer to Washington, Moscow and the whole wide earth. We need

a miracle in men that will make a summit conference work and without which all summit conferences are doomed to failure.

Moral Re-Armament is changing human nature drastically and at a speed and scale adequate to prepare nations to live in the world that faces us.

It is curing the causes of division, economic injustice, fear, hatred and communism.

It is rapidly multiplying the secret of God-centered unity without which civilization inevitably will destroy itself.

In the words of Gabriel Marcel, the great French Catholic philosopher, "It is a hope—perhaps the hope."

Moral Re-Armament has been tried, tested, and found to be true in many critical areas of the world.

ALGERIA

French political and military leaders and North Africans found at an MRA assembly fresh hope for a solution to the Algerian conflict. General Bethouart, Member of the French Senate, said, "There is no way out of the impasse of Algeria except Moral Re-Armament." The French Minister of Justice said, "I have seen and heard miracles."

CYPRUS

Greek and Turkish leaders including Zenon Rossides, representative of Archbishop Makarios, and Rauf Denktash, president of the Turkish Federation of Cyprus, were reconciled at an MRA assembly. They brought a message from Archbishop Makarios: "We had the opportunity to follow closely the work of Moral Re-Armament and particularly appreciate its contribution to the solution of the Cyprus problem."

GERMANY

Chancellor Adenauer says: "You know what great significance I attach to the ideological fight which Moral Re-Armament is waging in the whole world." And again: "Unless the work of Moral Re-Armament is carried forward, peace in the world cannot be maintained." Berlin knows the reality of communism. Ernest Scharnowski, chairman of the West Berlin Trade Union Federation, said: "MRA is the only force capable of conquering and curing the creeping paralysis of communism."

HOLLAND

An editorial in Volkskrant, largest Catholic daily newspaper in the Netherlands, and the official organ of the government party, says, "In an age in which statesmen from the West are negotiating with great difficulty with the Kremlin to achieve peaceful coexistence, in which excited youth flock to youth festivals to fraternize with the Communist world, where businessmen contract profitable business with Communist countries, where representatives of trade unions and parliaments hurry to Moscow to undergo friendly brainwashing—in this age, MRA hoists the storm signal: Coexistence is impossible. The battle is between Christ and anti-Christ."

JAPAN

Prime Minister Kishi said: "The democracies are on the defensive because of the lack of a moral ideology superior to communism. In the ideological war there is no neutrality nor coexistence. The leaders of the free nations must pay serious attention to the work of Moral Re-Armament throughout the world if we are to win in the decisive struggle for the future of mankind."

KERALA

The leaders of the uprising against the Communist government in the Indian state of Kerala went to the Moral Re-Armament assembly in Caux, Switzerland, to find a sound democratic ideology. Rajmohan Gan-

dhi, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, says: "The real choice before the world is Moral Re-Armament or communism. The free nations of Asia look today to Moral Re-Armament as the one hope."

LITTLE ROCK

This summer leaders of both white and Negro communities from Little Rock went to MRA's Summit Strategy Conference at Mackinac Island, Mich.

Among them was Edwin B. Cromwell, one of Arkansas' best known architects. He declared, "Little Rock will become a symbol of hope, not hatred, for the world through Moral Re-Armament."

Later MRA spokesmen were invited to address the Arkansas State Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They were given a standing ovation.

An outstanding Negro leader said, "Through Moral Re-Armament for the first time in my life I have lost my bitterness against the white people. I am convinced that the answer to Little Rock can come through MRA."

MAU MAU

Nahashon Ngare, a leader of 230,000 Mau Mau, who traveled through America with a colleague and the British officers who had been in charge of the camps where they were imprisoned, said: "The night of the long knives is past in Kenya but without MRA dark days lie ahead for our continent. Africa's choice is godless communism or Moral Re-Armament."

PITTSBURGH

Steelworkers of Pittsburgh last month invited the MRA plays to the Carnegie Auditorium in Duquesne, in the heart of the steel mills. Pittsburgh radio and TV stations have given 40 broadcasts featuring MRA speakers and music. The newspapers have carried news daily for the past month.

Harry Burton, President of United States Steel Workers Local 1256, Duquesne Works, said: "If the leaders of both sides of our present conflict met in the spirit of MRA, within a week's time they would negotiate the best contract ever. MRA shows how we can build the world as it should be."

SOUTH AMERICA

Eudocio Ravines, former Comintern member and founder of the Communist Party of Peru, said: "The only thing that can defend our hemisphere at this time when we face the greatest danger of our history is ideological armament. The task of all of us is to advance Moral Re-Armament throughout the world."

Our heritage is written on our coins: "In God we trust." America is in danger of losing that faith. And a country without a faith today is a country without morals tomorrow.

It has long been the policy of the Communists to soften up America from inside, to confuse and corrupt her living so that she may lose her will to resist or fight for what is right. As long ago as 1931 Dimitri Manuilsky, then of the Lenin School of Political Warfare, declared:

"Our time will come in 20 to 30 years. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep, so we will begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtones and unheard-of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

A training officer at Lackland Air Force Base, where every airman receives his first four weeks' basic training, reports: "I have yet to hear a single man say that every man

owes his country a duty. Not once have I seen one drop of patriotism in these kids. The rights and the privileges they know. But not their duties and obligations." (Quoted by Hanson W. Baldwin, New York Times, Dec. 12, 1959.)

America needs more than good will. She needs morally rearming. She needs an ideology. She needs to accept the President's challenge to join with him "in a renewed dedication to our moral and spiritual convictions and in that light to reexamine our own record, including our shortcomings."

George Washington listened to God at a time of conflict and gave the Nation freedom. Abraham Lincoln listened and preserved the Nation's unity. He knew the secret of God-control. He said: "I have so many evidences of God's direction that I cannot but admit this power comes from above. I am satisfied that when the Almighty wants me to do or not to do any particular thing, He finds a way of letting me know it."

Scientists tell us that "the world can be destroyed between the lunch and cocktail hour." Human wisdom has failed. Today, more than ever, we need the answer of God's wisdom. Dr. Frank Buchman, the initiator of Moral Re-Armament, says:

"We need a fourth dimensional thinking—a gift from God—that will lighten our darkness and bring a speedy answer. Wise men came from afar guided by a star, at that first Christmas. May each one of us, illumined from afar, bring a gift to all mankind that will be more acceptable than any earthly award. Ours is the eternal unity of being guided by a star to give every man and the statesman the gift of a new world."

FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

OCTOBER 29, 1959.

DEAR DR. BUCHMAN: At this critical hour, when all the resources of the free world need to be mobilized against communism, the global work of Moral Re-Armament is of the utmost significance.

The people of Washington recall the splendid reception given your plays in the city last year and we feel that the time has come for another series of performances. We warmly invite you to send to Washington one or two of the ideological dramas produced at Mackinac this past summer.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. McLAUGHLIN,
Commissioner.

DAVID B. KARRICK,
Commissioner.

Brig. Gen. ALVIN C. WELLING,
Engineer Commissioner.

NATIONAL THEATER

Moral Re-Armament presents two outstanding new stage plays, December 20-27

"Pickle Hill"

A drama with music which brings to vivid life Penn State College campus, 50 years ago when Frank Buchman began his life's work—a worldwide transformation of society through remade men.

Sunday, December 20, 8 p.m.
Monday, December 21, 8:30.
Tuesday, December 22, 8:30.
Saturday, December 26, 2:30 matinee and 8:30 p.m.

"Annie the Valiant"

The true story of how a remarkable woman took the answer from the mills to the millions. A deeply moving human drama full of laughter.

Wednesday, December 23, 2:30 matinee and 8:30 p.m.

Thursday, December 24, 8:30.
Friday, December 25, 8:30.

For reserved seat tickets without charge phone National 8-9460.

Public meetings, Sunday afternoons, December 20 and 27, 2:30 p.m.

Hear spokesmen from around the world, part of the force of 200 men and women from 28 countries. They will give firsthand evidence of an answer to deadlock and division.

Music by the MRA International Chorus.

"JOHN RIFFE OF THE STEELWORKERS"

Just published, this stirring book tells the colorful life story of John Riffe, last Executive Vice-President of the CIO.

Author William Grogan has been an officer of the Transport Workers since 1922.

Published by Coward-McCann. Hard-bound \$4.50. Paper \$1.25. Obtainable through your bookstore.

"IDEOLOGY AND COEXISTENCE"

Here is the manifesto attacked by Moscow last week in a Tass news agency report. Fifteen million copies published in 15 languages in the past 3 months.

The booklet develops the theme expressed by Adm. William H. Standley, "The choice for America is Moral Re-Armament or communism."

For copies, 15 cents each, write to MRA, Willard Hotel, Washington 4, D.C.

(This page has been contributed by a group of citizens as a national service.)

The above advertisement from the Evening Star includes several pictures with the following captions:

Chancellor Adenauer talks with Hans Wesołek, German mineworkers' official and Communist Party district chairman until won over by Moral Re-Armament. Adenauer recently commissioned a group of these MRA-trained miners to take a play they had written to Berlin, Britain, France, and Holland to strengthen the unity of Western Europe.

A Little Rock delegation is introduced to Dr. Frank Buchman, initiator of Moral Re-Armament, at the MRA Summit Strategy Conference this summer at Mackinac Island, Mich., by Edwin B. Cromwell, prominent Arkansas architect.

In Pittsburgh, Steelworker's local union presidents talk with labor leaders from Germany, Brazil, and Japan—some of MRA's 300-man task force invited to the steel center this month.

Another method of communication is the biweekly MRA Information Service Bulletin, a copy of which, under unanimous consent, I place in the RECORD, on the subject of the mass distribution just discussed:

[From MRA Information Service Bulletin, Mar. 26, 1960]

MASSIVE WORLD DISTRIBUTION—86,000,000 HOMES GET MANIFESTO

Eighty-six million copies in 24 languages! And the presses around the world are still rolling.

These are the facts to date on the distribution of the Moral Re-Armament handbook "Ideology and Coexistence." And they represent possibly the most massive simultaneous distribution of a single book ever undertaken.

Great crises in history have produced their notable pieces of writing that have helped to shape events. In the Revolutionary War it was "Common Sense" and the other pamphlets of Tom Paine. In the industrial revolution in Europe it was the "Communist Manifesto." Today in the cold war it may be a simple, 32-page revolutionary handbook which puts in plain, unassailable language what free men everywhere need to know and long to hear.

Mr. Khrushchev has made the word "coexistence" a golden dream for some and a

hideous nightmare for others. He says it is the only alternative to war, and "you must choose."

His strategy to lull the free world has confused millions. "Ideology and Coexistence" exposes the real aim of communism which has not changed. This manifesto offers the world an alternative ideology and presents the choice for every man—Moral Re-Armament or communism.

General Guisan, Swiss wartime commander in chief and national hero, wrote the foreword to a Swiss edition which went in 3 languages to 1,600,000 homes. "On the ideological plane neutrality can be dangerous, for refusal to fight for what is right plays the enemy's game. I long that our whole people should face realistically the forces which confront each other today, that we draw from our traditions a relentless determination to safeguard at all costs the freedoms we inherit."

A committee of Scandinavian patriots, determined to end the ideological softening up of their countries in the face of Khrushchev's offensive, met in Stockholm last November. Within a month an edition of 6,700,000 in 5 languages was being distributed to every home in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Greenland and the Faroe Islands. The copies distributed in Scandinavia were sufficient to fill a freight train of 33 cars. In parts of Greenland the manifesto was dropped by airplane. Reindeer sleds carried it to parts of Lapland and it was delivered by dogsled to huts in tiny villages.

Now every home in West Germany, as well as in Britain and France, and the principal cities of Italy, are to have the manifesto in a bold bid to undergird European unity with a moral ideology that wins the loyalties of Communist and non-Communist alike.

A Greek edition has gone to every Greek family in Cyprus, the first copy going to Archbishop Makarios. They were distributed mainly by former EOKA fighters. It has been translated into Turkish and is going to every Turkish household as well.

Following a national press and radio campaign the manifesto was distributed to 3 million homes in Holland. Four printers worked together and 5,000 people were employed in the distribution of the 90 tons of printing.

During this month it has been sent to 4,340,000 homes in Canada. Korea and Taiwan are other countries where it goes widely throughout the nation. Hong Kong has printed an edition in Chinese for distribution there and in southeast Asia.

"Ideology and Coexistence" has already been printed in five languages of India and sent to all members of both Houses of Parliament and ministers in the central and state governments.

In Japan 30,000 copies have been taken by the Defense Bureau to issue to every army officer. The first edition of 500,000 has gone to the leadership of the country.

Meanwhile a million copies are being printed in South Africa in English and Afrikaans. In Nigeria it has already gone to every member of the federal and regional parliaments.

The edition in French went to the Cameroonian Parliament on the eve of their independence. Editions are being planned in Arabic for north Africa and the Middle East and in Swahili for east Africa.

Portuguese and Spanish editions have been printed for the Latin American countries.

What is the overall effect of such a global offensive?

1. The handbook has been very widely read and deeply studied. In Sweden the post office made a test and found that 72 percent of copies had been read. This com-

pared with the previous highest readership of 40 percent from a normal postal distribution. Letters were received at the MRA headquarters at the rate of 500 a week.

Study groups have been formed in every country to go through the manifesto in detail and plan the application of its truths. In Holland it is the subject of instruction classes in the army.

2. It has been the subject of editorial comments and news stories everywhere. A thousand articles appeared in Denmark alone in one month. The Swiss foreword of General Guisan appeared in practically every newspaper in the country and there were editorials in 100 papers.

In Canada the handbook has been hailed in a series of notable editorials from coast to coast.

3. Moscow has attacked this handbook on a world scale through Tass, Pravda, Izvestia, Trud, and the World Marxist Review. In recent months there have been 100 attacks over Moscow, Tashkent, and Peking radios.

4. This great undertaking is calling out the sacrifice and conviction from thousands of people who see in MRA the one hope.

Up to now the operation in Europe and Asia alone is costing roughly \$2.8 million. Businessmen have sold capital assets and made them available. One man sold a block of apartments and gave \$56,000. Many have sold life insurance, property, jewelry. A company lawyer who has already given all his capital pledged his life insurance. A married man who had just inherited \$25,200, gave the entire amount. A musician gave her grand piano. It has involved the enlistment of the paper, printing, and distributing industries on a vast scale. Swedish pulp and paper firms have made a contribution for the French edition. The printing costs are being borne by Germany, a unique gift to meet a unique crisis.

5. The handbook is focusing everywhere the will to fight for freedom based on absolute moral standards and an ideological answer to communism.

The distribution in Finland (in the face of violent Soviet opposition) "brought new courage to the whole country," said one of the leading businessmen.

From all over the Nordic North people wrote, "Thank God someone has at last had the courage to speak out."

"MRA or Communism" is discussed on street corners, in coffee shops and clubs in every village in Cyprus.

Observers in Kerala report that the statewide distribution 8 days before the crucial elections last month had a wide influence in helping to sweep the Communists out of office, and in cementing the unity of the different political and religious groups opposing communism.

1960 is a year of choice. The future depends on the willingness of free men to make the right choice of the right alternative.

TUMULTUOUS WELCOME IN TOKYO FOR MRA FORCE

An MRA International force from 15 countries, including the cast of the German miners' play, "Hoffnung," was given an overwhelming reception in Tokyo this month just before Chancellor Adenauer's arrival there from Washington.

Prime Minister Kishi, leaders of Government and Opposition parties in the Diet, of organized labor, of the military, and of the press, joined in receiving this global force at the time when the free world most needs the power and clarity of a uniting ideology.

"The Prime Minister welcomes you from the bottom of his heart," said Saburo Chiba, Chairman of the Security Committee of Japan's Government Party, personally representing Mr. Kishi at Tokyo International

Airport for what was described as a "tumultuous" reception on the part of dozens of pressmen, batteries of cameramen, a brass band, and hundreds of eager citizens.

"Since you left Germany," Mr. Chiba continued, "you have done a great work in Italy, Cyprus, and India to promote real peace. You will bring Japan the change we need."

On hand to welcome the German miners dressed in their traditional costumes, were representatives of the German Embassy in Tokyo, along with members of both Houses of the Japanese Diet, and Kensuke Horinouchi, former Ambassador to Washington. Flower bouquets were presented to the miners' wives by the wife of the Korean Ambassador, Mrs. Yiu.

Only a few weeks previously these miners with their play, "Hoffnung," had been commissioned by Chancellor Adenauer on a similar ideological mission to Britain prior to his historic visit there to confer with British leaders.

"On behalf of the Japanese workers," declared Renzo Yanagisawa, National Chairman of the Japanese Shipbuilders' Union, "I welcome you. We used to say, 'Workers of the world unite.' That is out of date today. Dr. Buchman says, 'Workers unite the world.' You are showing that through your example. As your play gave unity to Europe it will give unity and clarity to Japan."

The international force was later welcomed in a meeting and press conference at the new Ozaki Memorial Buildings erected across the road from the Diet to commemorate Yukio Ozaki, father of Japanese parliamentarianism, who presented the famed cherry trees to Washington, D.C. This was the first use of the new buildings.

Viscountess Sohma, daughter of Ozaki, told the German miners, "You represent a new Germany with the right idea to unite the world. We need here the answer you have found in your country."

Lt. General Inoue declared, "Wars are won on the offensive. The free world is on the defensive. We need an ideological weapon to put us on the offensive. It is MRA. At the age of 68 I give the rest of my life for this ideology."

Meanwhile, news of the international force in Tokyo went to scores of millions in Japan over all TV channels and in the biggest dailies. The German miners were interviewed on a popular news telecast by senior commentator Ejiri, bringing forcefully into Japanese homes the choice of MRA or communism.

The three Colwell brothers of Hollywood, on their fourth visit to Japan with MRA, captured the Japanese journalists and photographers with their songs and convictions about an answering ideology for Asia, just at the time when the Japan-America Security Pact was under debate in the Diet. Along with the Colwells, representatives from Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and America were interviewed.

Reporting the miraculous turn of events in Cyprus, Andreas Vassiliou told the pressmen, "Moral Re-Armament has done more than any other force to reconcile the Greeks and Turks. Through this superior ideology, Cyprus will maintain peace and unity in the Middle East."

On their arrival in Tokyo the German miners were informed that already 20,000 requests had come in for the 14,000 seats available for the Tokyo showings of their play, "Hoffnung."

IDEOLOGY ENTERS EVERY HOME IN CANADA

From coast to coast last week every home in Canada—4,340,000—received through the mail a copy of the handbook, "Ideology and Coexistence." In English and French language editions.

Homes off the fog-shrouded Newfoundland coast that can only be reached irregularly

by boat, snowed-in and isolated farms on the prairies, every Indian village and Eskimo outpost, in the historic cities of French Canada and throughout the oil and mineral rich areas of western Canada—every householder received this book.

The massive response was demonstrated by the flood of letters, phone calls, contributions and editorial and news comment that quickly poured in.

After reading the booklet an intelligence officer said, "This is the finest thing I have ever seen and exactly what the world needs." The mother superior of a convent school wrote enclosing a dollar and asking for information about MRA films. "This is what I have always thought and taught," she said. "Please send further copies. We are very poor financially but I believe rich in ideology." A university student wrote, "This has awakened me from my apathy."

Thoughtful editorial comment evaluated this book against the ideological crisis the free world faces today.

The leading editorial in the Calgary Albertan said, "The massive web of Communist propaganda and subversion has never before been challenged on a scale comparable to the effort being made right now by the Moral Re-Armament movement with its distribution of the vigorous handbook, 'Ideology and Coexistence.' What is the importance of 'Ideology and Coexistence'? The answer is that it has provided for the first time for many millions of people a clear understanding of the meaning and intent of communism as well as a cohesive ideology with which to fight it."

La Presse, largest French language paper on the American Continent and the second biggest newspaper in Canada, wrote under the headline, "Moral Re-Armament Challenges All Men of Faith." "This organism is a challenge to all men of faith of whatever creed to form a united front against atheism. It aims to point out to the world the indisputable choice facing humanity—in the words of William Penn, 'Men must choose to be governed by God or they condemn themselves to be ruled by tyrants.'"

Another French language paper from the Province of Quebec, La Voix de l'Est, clearly pointed out the strategic importance of this manifesto at this time. In a lead editorial it said, "Ideology and Coexistence" expresses in clear terms the true ideology of the free world and offers an answer to communism. The whole Christian world recognizes today the supreme significance of the universal action of Moral Re-Armament. We must bring the answer to atheistic communism."

In an article entitled, "Fundamental Point in the Fight To Answer Communism," L'Action Catholique, Quebec City daily, wrote, "A revolution of the heart and beyond that of arms is the fundamental point of the battle to answer communism undertaken by Moral Re-Armament."

On the morning of Chancellor Adenauer's arrival in New York, Canada's most quoted editorial page, the Ottawa Journal, said, in an editorial on "Clarity and Moral Power," "We need," says Konrad Adenauer, "an ideology that brings clarity and moral power into shaping international relations." The West German Chancellor goes on to say, "A nation without an ideology is self-satisfied and dead. A nation with an ideology is always on the offensive."

"NEW WEAPON IN OUR HANDS" JENSEN TELLS CONGRESS

The Honorable BEN F. JENSEN speaking before Congress on March 14, 1960, said:

"Mr. Speaker, it is by a most happy combination of events that at this time [of Chancellor Adenauer's visit to Washington] a new weapon in the ideological struggle is being put into our hands. It is this handbook, 'Ideology and Coexistence,' prepared by Moral Re-Armament. It has been

published as a weapon to put America and the free world on the offensive in this war of ideologies. It sets forth in pungent sentences the true nature of communism and presents the one effective universal answer.

"The strength of the statements in this handbook and the ideology which it represent is proved by the violence of the attacks which Tass—the Soviet News Agency—Pravda, Izvestia, Trud, and the Moscow, Tashkent and Peking radios have launched against it, noting that this handbook 'is putting an end to the ideological softening up of the free world.'"

"To my knowledge this handbook is receiving one of the most massive simultaneous distributions in the history of the world."

ADENAUER'S STATESMANSHIP HONORED

"Mr. Speaker, during these days we are honored and happy to welcome to this country the distinguished Chancellor of West Germany.

"In the years since World War II he has stood out as a dauntless fighter for freedom and an architect of the unity of the West. Better than most he understands the nature of the ideological struggle we are in right now. For he and his country are on the very front line of that struggle."

"He and his family were among a group of 150 picked leaders of Western Germany who, at the end of the war, came to the Moral Re-Armament Assembly at Caux, Switzerland. There began the close friendship of the Chancellor with Dr. Frank Buchman, the initiator of Moral Re-Armament, an association which has grown and deepened over the years, and which has had a profound effect on this history of Western Europe."

"It is fitting that at the time of Chancellor Adenauer's stay in this country means such as this (the distribution of the handbook 'Ideology and Coexistence') are available to strengthen the fundamental beliefs and qualities of the American people and restore to new life and power the precious heritage of our forefathers and the great destiny of our land."

ANALYSIS OF THE WORLD SCENE

(By Graham Turner)

The manifesto "Ideology and Coexistence" is born into a world confused and divided against itself. As nations falter in the search for an effective policy, the man-in-the-street is the prey of views he cannot test, and falls foul daily of the prejudices, the hotheaded sensation and the deliberate distortion which large sections of the national press, radio and TV offer him.

Many a heart turns hopefully toward the summit. The hopes and fears of millions of ordinary men express themselves thus as they watch the statesmen perambulate, striving for solutions but never reaching a resting place.

BERLIN CENTER OF IDEOLOGICAL CLASH

One fact, clear and undeniable, emerges from the confusion. It is that for the last 9 months Russian threats against Berlin have paralyzed Western policy to such a degree that our entire thinking has focused on the fear of crisis there.

But it has had another repercussion. It has turned Germany into the stumbling-block to peace in the mind of the peace-loving public. Chancellor Adenauer, who has stood uncompromisingly for the freedom of Berlin, has been painted as a stubborn, illogical old man who bars the way to agreement.

As this mood has been developed, the way has been prepared for an open smear campaign to undercut Adenauer and West Germany. The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, put the simple fact in the House on February 10 when he said, "There has been a sustained propaganda cam-

paign against Dr. Adenauer and the Federal Government. It is part of a campaign to disrupt NATO by detaching Germany from it. It has been skillfully done by playing on the emotions of the past."

The swastika rash was a perfect illustration of the way in which the smear worked. There were 1,000 incidents in 34 countries. They were used to inform the world that the Nazis were returning to power in West Germany. The Daily Worker day after day took up the theme. Other British newspapers, of the political right and left, joined in the chorus. But the Paris *Le Figaro* of January 7 spotted the point and wrote: "Who but international communism could have an interest in sowing suspicions about West Germany on the eve of the East-West meetings? To make people believe in a renaissance of anti-Semitic nazism in Germany . . . is the best way to isolate Chancellor Adenauer."

When the swastikas had played their part, they went as swiftly as they had arrived. They were merely the opening salvo in a mighty smear attack which will continue on every possible issue until May and beyond. The next line of attack was German bases in Spain.

Leaked to the press, the news that Germany had approached Spain for supply bases was seized, magnified and distorted as evidence of a Franco-Adenauer pro-Fascist front with atomic weapons lurking somewhere in the background.

Mr. Dean Acheson, former American Secretary of State who has just returned from a thorough tour of Germany, exposed Soviet aims in the New York Times of February 29. The first stage of their plan, he says, is to make it plain that the United States, and hence NATO, has neither the will nor the power to protect Berlin. The second is to secure the withdrawal of American forces from Europe and the dissolution of NATO.

Chancellor Adenauer understands our feelings well. He recently said in Bonn, "We Germans must never forget the wounds we have caused other nations by following a wrong ideology." And his understanding is not only in words; he has suffered himself in the concentration camps of the same Nazis with whom the Communists now compare him.

So, by Khrushchev's choice, we have spent our time thinking about Berlin and West Germany. But what has been happening elsewhere in the meantime? Here is the real point, because it is in Latin America, Africa, and Asia that the Communists have made their real progress.

STRATEGY FOR SOUTH AMERICA

Take South America, for example. We hear from many sides that there is a rift between Russia and China. The nonsense of it is clearly revealed when you observe their operations in South America. Only a few weeks ago Radio Peking said, "Latin America has become the frontline of the ideological battle." Fourteen hours a week broadcasts in Spanish go to Latin America from Radio Peking. The continent is being flooded with Chinese magazines.

At exactly the same time Mikoyan is in Cuba, on a friendship visit. He was feted by the Government. When Castro asked for a loan of \$20 million, Mikoyan suggested that it might look less blatant if he approached Czechoslovakia. Lenin's strategy was: "First we will take Eastern Europe, then the masses of Asia, then we will encircle the United States." Has it altered one jot?

Now the strategy is followed in Africa, too. Recently the East Germans opened a trade fair in Ghana. In his opening speech, the East German spokesman accused West German troops of having taken part in the French atom bomb explosion in the Sahara disguised as Legionnaires. This was the same accusation as appeared in the British left-

wing press, but that is incidental. The East German Premier, Grotewohl, sent a telegram to Nkrumah.

Much of the press has given the impression that the Khrushchev visit to Indonesia was a flop. Yet Sukarno has accepted a large trade and aid program which gives the opening for thousands of Russian scientists, technicians, and students to pour into the country. Have we in Britain considered Indonesia in these last weeks? Yet Indonesia has taken another step toward the Bamboo Curtain.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The Communists have a clever, bold, and mobile strategy which exploits blind idealism as easily as it mobilizes bitterness. It touches the longing for peace which is in the heart of every man. Take the phrase "peaceful coexistence." What does it mean?

In the Western nations it means a wave of strikes in key industries, designed to destroy their economy. In Cyprus it means an all-out fight to wreck the London and Zurich agreements, in alliance with the right wing opposition to Makarios if necessary. In Algeria it means the reverse—opposition to the right wing and support of a quite unviable solution entailing the breaking of all French connections with the Sahara oil companies. "Peaceful coexistence" means that, suiting your tactics to the situation, you do everything to subvert and destroy.

"Ideology and Coexistence" is a clear challenge to a world which will not face reality. Its choice is simple: Moral Re-Armament or communism.

ANSWER FOR INDIA'S MILLIONS: "WHEN MRA MEETS COMMUNISM HEAD ON, MRA ALWAYS WINS"

The scrawlings of hammer and sickle in the city streets were overshadowed. Gay banners proclaiming the MRA play "Hoffnung" now dominated the scene. Kerala, for 2 years under Communist rule, was welcoming a new idea to her capital.

In 1957 the 16 million people of this beautiful State of timber and tea plantations voted in a Communist government. Two years later what Pandit Nehru termed a "mass upsurge" forced the President of India to dissolve the Communist government and order fresh elections.

Only 7 days after the formation of the new democratic cabinet the MRA force arrived. They came on the invitation of the Chief Minister and the leaders of the State.

Fifteen thousand people managed to pack into the University Convocation Hall during the 6-day run of "Hoffnung" in Trivandrum, Kerala's capital city. On March 1, premiere night, official cars with pennants flying and a steady stream of people moved in the main gate where the great trees were decorated with colored lights.

"It seemed as if all the traffic of Trivandrum" said one journalist, "bicycle, bus or on foot, was heading in one direction only—to the theater."

Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, 83-year-old leader of the Liberation Movement which ousted the Communists, introduced the play, saying, "Kerala can never be grateful enough to the ideology of MRA. Through transforming human nature it is answering forever the onrushing menace of communism." In the front row sat Gov. Ramakrishna Rao, and four cabinet ministers.

Night after night, thousands poured into the theater. Members of Parliament flew specially from New Delhi to see the play. Those who could not get in read daily front-page press accounts of the progress of the MRA force.

Chief Minister P.T. Pillai asked the MRA force to call upon him and discuss how to solve the urgent problems of Kerala. "I highly value your ideology," he said, "I am wholly with you in bringing this answer to

communism. Your ideology is the continuation of the work of great teachers like Buddha, Mohammed and Gandhi."

Nine out of the eleven members of the new Kerala cabinet, the university vice chancellor, a Catholic bishop, and senior government officials attended a dinner at Kanakakunnu Palace and conferred with the miners.

COMMUNIST REACTION

The Communists were alarmed by the MRA advance. The alliance of the democratic parties was being cemented. After 3 days of deliberations, the State Council of the Communist Party launched a statewide campaign of protest. Janayagan, the official Communist organ, carried a page-length editorial attacking the Governor. His decision to give Convocation Hall free for performances of Hoffnung and to make a State treasury contribution toward the MRA force was the talk of Kerala.

The chief minister's own paper, Kerala Janatha, carried a two-column leading article refuting the attack. Under the headline, "Unintelligent Thinking of M.P." this spirited article says, "The way in which a certain Member of Parliament has been discussing MRA we have ignored because it is not worth thinking about. The attack by the Communist paper and this M.P. against Moral Re-Armament shows the deep degradation into which they have fallen. We feel this M.P. is off his head and his pronouncements are against the culture of Kerala. Kerala is not Russia or China but India."

"When Chou En-lai entered the northern frontier of India like a thief, what was this M.P. doing then? Will he kindly tell us how Chou En-lai should be received? MRA is not a danger to this country and not an enemy, whereas Chou En-lai with his force is an enemy, and yet he is going to be welcomed like a king. To unintelligence and nonsense there must be a limit, but this Member of Parliament has exceeded that limit."

P. S. Abraham, registrar of the university said, "When MRA meets head on with communism, MRA always wins."

Kerala life is focused on education. It was here that Communist efforts to indoctrinate the youth had triggered the freedom struggle last year.

At University College this month students crammed doorways and windows to hear MRA spokesmen. Mr. V. R. Pillai, the rector, said, "MRA is an ideology which is neither anti-Communist or anti-capitalist but for the whole world. It brings change in the thinking and living of men."

After many years as director of public instruction in Kerala, which boasts the highest literacy rate in India, Mr. A. N. Tampi gave as his experience that "education and literacy by themselves do not give the secret of how to live together. Every means has been tried, but only MRA has succeeded. You are bringing back the readiness to sacrifice that should be normal. You bring what Gandhi brought and we have stopped living."

STUDENTS PACK HALL

Students stood 20 deep at the back of the hall in Mahatma Gandhi College, the leading educational institution of the state, to hear international speakers. Mannathan, principal of the college, said, "MRA has created an indelible impression on the minds of the people of Kerala. It is creating a new age through people united in remaking men and nations."

In Kottayam, in the same college hall where the liberation movement was launched, MRA was proclaimed to an enthusiastic crowd. The principal of the Hindu college declared, "This is the most important event to take place in the history of our institute."

A leading Communist student said, "I have never seen students so completely gripped." In New Delhi, Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of the Mahatma, and Peter Howard, noted British journalist, both traveling with the MRA force, were received by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India.

"HOFFNUNG" IN MADRAS

In Madras, the governor of the 30 million people of the state, gave a reception for MRA. The city's largest theater could not contain the crowds who turned out for the performance of "Hoffnung." The speaker of the Madras state assembly, Dr. Krishna Rao, said that MRA is democracy's answer to hate and division in the world.

T. V. Ananham, General Secretary of the 52,000 South India Railway Workers, speaking to a crowded union meeting, stated that since both management and labor had seen the MRA plays in 1953 there had been no strikes and conditions had improved. "The Southern Railwaymen are greatly indebted to MRA," he said. "We stand now for what is right and the moral principles of Dr. Buchman."

The leading women of Madras received the force. Mada Krishnamurthy, the secretary of the Women's Indian Association, said, "East and West meet in the ideology of MRA. It brings a revolution in people like me. Your ideals must run faster than sputnik."

In Thiruvella, P. S. George, treasurer of the state congress committee, said, "You leave a rich heritage here—people committed to MRA. We have a big responsibility. We have got to do the job."

AFRICANS ROUSE NORDIC NORTH

(By Derek Gill)

In ice-bound Oslo they rubbed their eyes when they saw two Africans, wearing traditionally colorful robes, and striding down the main shopping street. John Amata, a political leader from Nigeria, and Manasseh Moerane, a former president of 10,000 teachers in South Africa, were 2 of the 5 members of an African force which has been on a whirlwind tour of four Nordic countries.

"Africa," they told the Finns, "is fighting shoulder to shoulder with you in presenting the nations with an ideology that will win the world for God." "Africa," they told the Swedes, "is finding the answer to racialism, to the fear born of hatred and greed." "Africa," they told the Danes, "demands permanent freedom, and needs the help of free people everywhere to prevent a new and more sinister imperialism feeding on new-found independence." "Look at your map of Africa," they told the Norwegians. "Think what would happen to your fair country of forests and fjords were Africa to become another Red China."

With Amata and Moerane were three white South Africans, members of a racial group which, in the eyes of the world, symbolizes the dark passions of the color bar. But these three white South Africans were men freed of bitterness and fear—freed by an ideology which united them with the Africans.

"You have hit our country with the force of a nuclear explosion," a Swedish politician told the MRA African force. "You have persuaded me that I too am at war," said a Norwegian churchman. "Out of the dark continent has come a light to show us the enemy," said a Danish businessman.

FINLAND

In Finland, the grand old man of Nordic Socialism, Dr. Vaino Tanner, invited the visitors from the South to speak to his party's parliamentary faction. Finnish Education Minister Keikki Hosia, greeting the visitors, was photographed by a battery of

newsreel and press cameras. In Finland, where, in the words of an industrialist, "we feel the hot breath of communism down our necks," men and women listened with surging hope as the Africans outlined the global struggle.

When a Finnish student asked cynically where was the association between Africa and his country, we told him that in Africa there were 4 million white people with fear in their hearts for 200 million black people. In Finland, we said, there were 4 million people with fear in their hearts for a neighboring state of 200 million. "The answer to fear is the same in every language," we told the Students' Association. "The answer begins in the heart of the individual, and the answer will end when the world is freed of the hate and the beastliness that are its fruits."

In a 40-minute television program from a Helsinki studio, the African MRA force pierced the Iron Curtain.

SWEDEN, DENMARK, NORWAY

At the Stockholm Airport, the King's Chamberlain, Mr. James Dickson, was the first to greet the visitors. Dining with the highest military leaders in the country, the Africans discussed the global strategy of the ideological conflict.

Arriving in Copenhagen in subfreezing weather—conditions vastly removed from the familiar hot veid and steaming plantations—the Africa force were whisked to a television studio where they were featured in a live peak-hour program, seen by over one million viewers.

A glittering dinner attended by Copenhagen's most influential citizens and members of the diplomatic corps climaxed a dawn to midnight schedule, which included sessions with the Foreign Minister Jens Otto Krag, and Deputy Speaker Ole Bjorn Kraft.

Thus to Norway, where the MRA Africa force found itself hot on the heels of Soviet Minister Mikoyan, who, 3 days earlier, had paid Oslo, a purposeful visit. Indeed, Mikoyan had been drawn into public debate on the ideology of MRA when, before a vast crowd, he was asked by noted Norwegian journalist, Erik Egeland, to compare his creed with the only other world ideology—and to choose the better.

Here again the Africa force found doors opened to the homes and offices of the most important in the land—including the Foreign Minister Hallvard Lange, the Chairman of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, Mr. Jahn, and the Speaker Mr. Langhelle, who, in precedence, stands next to the King.

As the Africa force flew out today, they were told that after the sledgehammer blow of the manifesto ("Ideology and Coexistence") and the follow-up punch of the visitors from the sunny south, the north was ablaze and ready to take on the remaking of the world.

AND ON TO ICELAND

The President of Iceland, Asgeir Asgeirsson, officially received in Reykjavik an MRA force, both white and black, from South Africa, Rhodesia and Kenya. In an hour-long interview he heard them present the global ideological alternative of Moral Re-Armament or communism.

Others who received the force included the Minister of Culture, the bishop of Iceland, the Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, the Danish, Norwegian, and German Ambassadors. The chief editors of the three largest newspapers dined with the Africans and the press carried extensive coverage of their visit.

A packed audience, with 100 standing, saw the premiere of "Freedom," the full-length African feature film, at Reykjavik's largest theater.

ON THE OFFENSIVE

(By Air Commodore N. Blair-Oliphant)

We are being brainwashed.

The Communists would have us believe that we have only to give up our nuclear weapons for the world to live in peace. Their promotion of the concept of peaceful co-existence is part of their plan to undermine our will to resist.

The democracies are already on the defensive. Our defense strategy, based on nuclear weapons, has been one of deterrence and massive retaliation. It has been successful in preventing a war of arms. Right now, however, the Communists are engaged in a war of ideas. In this field defense by itself is not enough. The only effective strategy is a massive offensive with an ideology superior to communism.

We need to prevent the war of arms, but we must win the war of ideas.

Armament is the expression of a nation's will to resist.

Moral Re-Armament is the expression of a nation's will to win.

In "Ideology and Coexistence" we have a weapon for massive offensive action.

The above issue of MRA includes several pictures with the following captions:

The Governor of Kerala, H. E. Ramakrishna Rao, gives a reception at his residence to launch the Moral Re-Armament offensive of German miners with a force drawn from 14 nations. Seated at the center is Mannath Padmanabhan, 83-year-old leader of the liberation struggle which ousted Communists from power. Padmanabhan, who invited Moral Re-Armament to Kerala, said, "We must give a permanent answer to communism and unite all those who believe in God."

Hans Herrig, former veteran Communist leader and ex-chairman of the Communist Party in Castrop Rauxel in the Ruhr, speaks to workers of the Kerala state Transport Workers Union at the union headquarters in Trivandrum.

The president-elect, Archbishop Makarios, receives German miners from the Ruhr at the archbishopric where they talked together for 45 minutes.

It is a unique event in Cyprus to see more than a thousand members of the Greek, British, and Turkish communities, not only assembled in one place, but unitedly acclaiming one idea.

The Vice-President-Elect of Cyprus, Dr. Kutchuk, receives the MRA force which includes German miners from the Ruhr.

The Governor Sir Hugh Foot on the lawns at Government House receives a miniature miner's lamp from Robert Wegerhoff, Ruhr miner, who is part of the MRA ideological force presenting the German play "Hoffnung."

I would like to outline another method by which the Moral Re-Armament program conducts its work. Under the leadership of outstanding Americans in the U.S. Senate, such as Senator HUMPHREY and others, a play called "Hoffnung"—Hope—on the subject of Moral Re-Armament, given by German miners from the Ruhr, is being brought to America. Following is a news item dealing with this subject:

U.S. SENATORS INVITE PLAY, ADENAUER SUPPORT ASKED

Eleven U.S. Senators cabled Chancellor Konrad Adenauer for support to "cement the unity of our two countries," by sending the Moral Re-Armament play, "Hoffnung" (Hope) to Washington.

"We have heard of the effective work performed by German miners with this play in uniting Western Europe," they said. "We believe that it can do much to cement the unity of our two countries at this critical time."

"We warmly invite the miners to bring their play to Washington this spring, and would value your support for this important ideological move."

They added their birthday greetings and said, "We are grateful for your statesmanship in face of the strategy of world communism."

The signatories are Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, minority leader, and Senators FRANCIS CASE, JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, ESTES KEFAUVER, OREN E. LONG, RUSSELL B. LONG, EUGENE MCCARTHY, JOHN MCCLELLAN, GEORGE SMATHERS, and ALEXANDER WILEY.

"Hoffnung" is an ideological weapon of historic importance which is creating unity between Britain, France, and Germany and is answering Moscow's bid to divide Europe. Performed by former Communist German miners it has played to packed houses in Bonn, Berlin, London, Amsterdam, and Paris.

After the Chancellor's visit to Britain 3 months ago he said the play gave him specially effective support.

Former Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Guy Mollet invited the play to France to bring ideological clarity before Khrushchev's arrival in the spring.

Many newspapers have been extremely cooperative in telling the story of Moral Re-Armament. At this point I place in the RECORD the full-page story from the San Marino (Calif.) Tribune, of Thursday March 24, 1959, entitled "MRA: The Answer to Communism":

MRA: THE ANSWER TO COMMUNISM

(By Adm. William H. Standley, former Chief of Naval Operations and former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow)

SAN DIEGO, March 24, 1959.—It is well known to all my friends in San Diego and for that matter to all San Diego residents that I am and have been for years a definite and outspoken enemy of communism. My stand on the McCarthy issue is well known to them all.

We are in a world war of ideas and our greatest need is to go on the offensive. We must awaken America to the need of arming our Nation with an ideology as well as through economic and military means. Subversive forces are tearing down and undermining the moral strength of America. At the same time with ruthless duplicity Moscow is sweet one day and tough the next with a strategy which the free world has failed to comprehend.

Moral Re-Armament, which came to San Diego with an international ideological force of 150 men and women from 23 nations is at the same time effectively operating with similar forces in Europe, Asia, and Africa. I have known Moral Re-Armament for 20 years. I know it is effectively answering communism. Moscow attacks it for that reason. Subversive forces, aiming to weaken the free world and destroy Moral Re-Armament, have accused it of being pacifist, and are behind this mischievous propaganda.

Moral Re-Armament strives to make men and nations incorruptible and therefore a bulwark against the advance of communism in this country as well as every other free country. Moral Re-Armament provides strength for democracy. It is a continuation of the American Revolution on a world scale. With Moral Re-Armament America can go on the offensive in the world war of ideas.

To set the record straight, Moral Re-Armament is not and has never been pacifist. It shares equally in importance with material rearmament. Both are essential to our survival. Men trained in Moral Re-Armament have served and are serving with honor on many battlefields of the world. When the Second World War was over these men knew that the real battle had just begun. In the last 20 years a force of men has been built on every continent with the training adequate to the need. Moral Re-Armament ranks with the highest form of patriotism and is providing an irreplaceable national service.

Dr. Frank Buchman, the founder of Moral Re-Armament and a great American, 30 years ago saw the need for an ideological force in the free world and started then to create the answering force. He says, "We need an idea in the head and an answer in the heart as well as a gun in the hand."

Moral Re-Armament is being recognized as a superior ideology to communism throughout the world. Statesmen in key areas are turning to it. Chancellor Adenauer of West Germany in inviting an MRA force to Germany says, "Unless the work of Moral Re-Armament is carried forward, peace in the world cannot be maintained."

Prime Minister Kishi of Japan, inviting the MRA force to Japan, says, "This idea is the most needed one at this crucial time in our history."

Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, said to me, "For India the choice today is Moral Re-Armament or communism."

I believe the same choice confronts America: Moral Re-Armament or communism.

Moral Re-Armament is bringing a rebirth of democracy and is restoring God to leadership in the lives of men and nations. I have witnessed these ideological plays recently presented in San Diego by Moral Re-Armament and am more convinced than ever that they are bringing the answer for all mankind.

The excerpts from the San Marino Tribune contains several photos with the following captions:

Adm. William H. Standley, the former Chief of Naval Operations and formerly U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, in a statement printed on this page called MRA "the continuation of the American Revolution on a world scale." He adds: "The choice that confronts America is Moral Re-Armament or communism."

SAN DIEGO.—Gen. J. W. O'Daniel, seen here with some of the cast of the MRA Asian play, "The Road to Tomorrow," after a presentation in San Diego last week. General O'Daniel, who commanded the famous "Hell on Wheels" 3d Division, which fought through Italy into Germany, and was known as "Iron Mike" by his men, called MRA "the answer to communism for the whole world."

PALM SPRINGS.—Mayor Frank Bogert greets Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of the Mahatma. The mayor presented the keys of the city to Gandhi and the MRA force following performances of the MRA play at the Palm Springs High School Auditorium. The mayor said the visit of this MRA force was "the best thing ever to happen to Palm Springs." The school board has since passed a resolution inviting the MRA youth play, "The New American," for a presentation in the high school at a school assembly.

WASHINGTON.—Two missile experts, Dr. S. D. Cornell, Executive Officer of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., and B. F. Coggan, general manager, Convair, San Diego. The MRA task force has been in San Diego this week at the invitation of Coggan and other senior citizens. Speaking in Los Angeles recently, Cornell said: "To-

day we face three alternatives. Atomic war, world dictatorship, or renaissance for all men through MRA."

EL TORO MARINE BASE.—Maj. Gen. S. S. Jack, Commanding General AirFMP Pacific, with members of the MRA task force, following a presentation of the MRA plays at the Marine Base this week. With General Jack is a Japanese who spent 11 years in a Russian prisoner-of-war camp in Siberia. In Russian periodicals there he read attacks on MRA. The MRA plays were invited to the base by the base commander, Brig. Gen. Ronald Salmon.

BEVERLY HILLS.—Chief of Police Clinton Anderson talks before the MRA play with Kichizaemon Sumitomo of Japan. Sumitomo is head of the well known banking and industrial family which employed half a million men before the war. He has been in Los Angeles with the MRA task force.

CYPRUS.—John McGovern, member of the British Parliament for 28 years, and Zenon Rossides, Greek U.N. Delegate, and political advisor to Archbishop Makarios, confer on the Cyprus problem at the MRA assembly in Los Angeles. Rossides then flew directly to the Cyprus Conference in London, where he played a significant part. The Greek Ambassador to the U.N. recently wrote MRA expressing his "thanks for the valuable contribution made by MRA toward the settlement of Cyprus."

INDIO.—A high school audience in Coachella Valley High School sees the MRA play, "The New American," during a school assembly. This play, written by high school and university students, has had an enthusiastic response all through southern California.

An excellent article on the famous meeting between Konrad Adenauer and the founder of Moral Re-Armament, Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, from the Tucson (Ariz.) Daily Star of March 22, 1960, follows:

ADENAUER, BUCHMAN CONFER—GERMAN, MRA HEAD RENEW FRIENDSHIP

Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, initiator of the Moral Re-Armament program and Tucson winter resident, has just returned from 3 days spent in Los Angeles on the invitation of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer of West Germany.

Adenauer, who has been a close friend of Dr. Buchman for a number of years, had hoped to visit him in Tucson, but his official program left inadequate time for the return journey from Los Angeles, where the Chancellor received an honorary degree from the University of California and addressed the Los Angeles World Affairs Council.

Press reports of the university ceremony said that the Chancellor called for "the moral arming of youth for the struggle with communism as the major objective of education in the free world."

Adenauer, who first came with his family and staff to the Assembly of Moral Re-Armament in Caux, Switzerland, in 1948, has taken an active part in the development of MRA throughout the world. Speaking to Dr. Buchman on Saturday at a luncheon for old friends among the California leadership, he said: "I must tell you how much I value you and your work of Moral Re-Armament. It is absolutely essential for the peace of the world."

In an article which the Chancellor recently wrote in the American press entitled, "Moral Re-Armament—the World's Hope," the Catholic Statesman said, "At this time of confusion in Europe and especially in divided Germany, we need an ideology that brings clarity and moral power into shaping international relations. A nation with an

ideology is always on the offensive. A nation without an ideology is self-satisfied and dead.

"Dr. Frank Buchman, founder of Moral Re-Armament, is making a great contribution to international unity and to the establishment of social justice. The way he has labored to establish relations between men and nations on firm foundations of moral values, will never be forgotten. Unless this work is carried forward, peace in the world cannot be maintained."

On his arrival in Tokyo this week, Adenauer will be greeted by a force of 100 men and women from the Ruhr coal and steel industries of Germany, whom he commissioned to precede him to Japan with the MRA ideological play, "Hoffnung." They were invited by Premier Kishi and leaders of government and the opposition.

Following this article is a photo with following caption:

Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, initiator of Moral Re-Armament, is questioned by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, left, of West Germany about a historic cane which he carries. It is a replica of a famous stick belonging to Frederick the Great of Prussia and was given to Dr. Buchman by Prince and Princess Adelbert of Prussia. The two friends met at a luncheon given by the German Consul-General in Los Angeles during the Chancellor's visit.

Another article by Konrad Adenauer which appeared in the New York Journal American on Sunday, January 31, 1960, entitled "Adenauer Calls MRA World's Hope," follows:

ADENAUER CALLS MRA WORLD'S HOPE

(The ideology of Moral Re-Armament is seen by West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer as vitally important at this stage of world affairs. His government has awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit to Dr. Frank Buchman, founder of Moral Re-Armament. In the following article written exclusively for the New York Journal-American, Chancellor Adenauer discusses this ideology.)

(By Konrad Adenauer)

At this time of confusion in Europe we need, and especially in divided Germany, an ideology that brings clarity and moral power into shaping international relations. A nation with an ideology is always on the offensive. A nation without an ideology is self-satisfied and dead.

Communism has gone through many phases—Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, now Khrushchev. But one thing has remained unaltered—its aim of world domination. We must be prepared to continue the ideological struggle for several decades yet, but I am convinced Khrushchev's grandchildren will not be Communists.

Dr. Frank Buchman, founder of Moral Re-Armament, is making a great contribution to international unity and to the establishment of social justice. A lasting memorial to his work is established in the hearts of mankind of this age. The way he has labored to establish relationships between men and nations on firm foundations of moral values will never be forgotten.

Now is the time to work more strongly than ever for European unity through MRA. A Europe in which freedom and brotherhood should reign can only be created when nations are mutually conscious of their moral responsibility. MRA has given most valuable stimulation to the great work of uniting Europe. Unless this work is carried forward, peace in the world cannot be maintained.

If all nations are to continue to live together, one of the most pressing tasks of our age is to overcome prejudices that exist be-

tween people, races, and nations. In this field MRA has made an important contribution.

May it above all pass on the truth that the one real hope of nations living together in peace can only be found through a change in the human heart.

We can be grateful to the men and women of Moral Re-Armament that in this world of destruction they have had the courage to raise the banner of moral values. MRA has become a household word in postwar Germany.

The German people gratefully recognize the help which has come so readily to them through MRA. Very soon after the end of the war this ideology reached out a hand to the German people and helped them make contact again with other nations. In Western Germany MRA has worked very forcefully in the creation of good relations between management and labor.

Men and nations cannot outwardly enjoy stable relations until they have been inwardly prepared for them. In this respect MRA has rendered great lasting services.

We have seen the conclusion after some difficult negotiations of important international agreements. MRA has played an invisible but effective part in bridging differences of opinion between negotiating parties. It has kept before them the objective of peaceful agreement in search for common good which is the true purpose of human life.

Begin with yourself—that, in my opinion, is the basic challenge of MRA. May this challenge ring out far and wide across the whole world and into all nations.

The Morning Call of Allentown, Thursday, December 31, 1959, published an article entitled "Admiral Sees MRA Key Red Fox," by Rear Adm. Adolphus Staton, graduate of the Naval Academy. With 40 years' service in the U.S. Navy, he holds the country's two highest battle awards, the Medal of Honor and the Navy Cross. The article follows:

ADMIRAL SEES MRA KEY RED FOX

(By Rear Adm. Adolphus Staton)

Tass, the official Moscow news agency, in two successive attacks on Moral Re-Armament 2 weeks ago, triggered off a wave of virulent accusations in the principal Kremlin propaganda organs.

The reason is obvious.

Intelligence sources in Washington reveal that MRA has been discussed in the top echelons in Moscow and Peiping and made a high priority target of world communism. One Middle East Ambassador said this week in Washington to one of my friends, "MRA is high on the Kremlin agenda because they got into Africa ahead of them."

A Finnish visitor to the Kremlin was told that the greatest obstacle to the advance of communism was MRA.

Gabriel Marcel, the noted French Catholic philosopher and author, writing in the Paris newspaper Figaro, said: "One fact which proves the scope of Moral Re-Armament is that the men of the Kremlin are troubled about it. They make many broadcasts as a warning against a movement which is undermining the very foundations of the Communist ideology."

A great American, Adm. William H. Standley, put it very clearly. He said: "I have known MRA for 20 years. I know it is effectively answering communism. It strives to make men and nations incorruptible and therefore a bulwark against the advance of communism in this country as well as every other free country. MRA provides strength for democracy. It is a continuation of the American Revolution on a world scale. With

Moral Re-Armament, America can go on the offensive in the world war of ideas."

Standley knows what he is talking about. He was Ambassador to Moscow and, of course, was chief of naval operations.

The points he made were stressed by 96 Members of Congress, including the Speaker and the minority leader, in a message to Allentown's Dr. Frank Buchman expressing their gratitude on his 76th birthday. They said, "You have given a uniting idea to nations that can turn the ideological tide in the world today."

The Chaplain of the Senate, Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, described MRA as "a global crusade to win the world to the actual practice in individual lives of the New Testament. Here is the way which can turn the tide of communism."

UNDENIABLE RESULTS

My experience in naval intelligence work has shown that a force as effective as this will inevitably draw fire. It all serves to underline the undeniable results being achieved.

Those of us who understand the vital necessity of NATO realize the importance of Franco-German-British unity.

Just this week, Frank Buchman received a letter from Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, of Germany thanking him for the part MRA has played in making his recent visit to Britain the success it was. Adenauer said that MRA had upturned the thinking of Britain. He, of course, credits MRA with the miracle of postwar Franco-German unity. He says it prevented the German Ruhr from going Communist after the war. It is an established fact that Communist representation on the works councils of the Ruhr dropped from 72 percent to 25 percent in 2 years. This is what Adenauer describes as "the test case of MRA's effectiveness."

In a recent cable to Dr. Buchman, the Chancellor said, "Unless the work of Moral Re-Armament is carried forward, peace in the world cannot be maintained."

On the southern flank of NATO is the strategic island of Cyprus. Last year its bloody divisions nearly tore NATO apart.

Then came a settlement acclaimed by the London Times as "a miracle," and which Greek and Turkish leaders said was largely due to what MRA had done. It is significant that the first joint statement by the newly elected president, Archbishop Makarios, a Greek, and the vice president, Dr. Kutchuk, a Turk, was a Christmas message sent to Frank Buchman last week.

BLACK MARK

The blackest mark in America's page apparently came to a close last week with a handshake in Little Rock between Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas NAACP, and Governor Faubus. Papers all across the country carried the picture of the two shaking hands.

Mr. Bates, as reported in the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, said: "It was my wife's experience in MRA that gave her the courage to ask for this appointment with the Governor, and it was probably something of MRA in him that made him accept. This may be a turning point." The editorial continues, "MRA is one of the most effective counter ideologies to communism in the world."

Today America is in a global war of ideologies. MRA is in the forefront of this fight. That is why Holland's largest Catholic daily states in an editorial: "In an age in which statesmen from the West are negotiating with great difficulty with the Kremlin to achieve peaceful coexistence . . . when representatives of trade unions and parliaments hurry to Moscow to undergo friendly brainwashing—in this age MRA holds the

storm signal: Coexistence is impossible. The battle is between Christ and anti-Christ. The Catholic community of Holland wholeheartedly subscribes to the present call."

I agree with my comrade in arms, the late Adm. Richard E. Byrd, who said of MRA, "This is the chance for every red-blooded American to go into action to save civilization."

Of course, there are some who consciously or unconsciously misunderstand the scope of this work. A senior military figure from Washington once wrote Frank Buchman: "Your work for the establishment of practical Christianity as a vital force in the defense of our democracy brought attack from the Communist press both during the war and since. Many patriotic circles were misled by such attacks."

I am one of hundreds of thousands in this country and abroad who owe an eternal debt of gratitude to Frank Buchman. He as none other has reached down deep into our hearts to touch that spark of patriotism and roused us to stand and fight that freedom may be preserved.

By now you must have guessed that I am a bit enthusiastic about this program, but I could not close without demonstrating some of the victories that have already been achieved to prove this program will work.

Archbishop Makarios, regarding the influence of Moral Re-Armament in the well-known Cyprus crisis, stated:

We need Moral Re-Armament now more than ever to make the Cyprus agreement work.

Dr. Kutchuk, leader of the Turkish community on Cyprus, said:

Those who have seen the MRA ideology at work will create a happy island free from hate and bitterness and a true democratic government.

Perhaps hardest to prove, but equally significant, is the value of Moral Re-Armament in the relations between France and Germany. The very fact that Khrushchev feels called upon to spend this long period of time in France trying to stir up new animosities between the German and the French people is significant.

Another conquest for democracy that Moral Re-Armament entered into was the province of Kerala in Southern India. Kerala had gone Communist. It was a well-known fact in the world. Rioting and violence were erupting all over the province. All of India and all of the non-Communist world feared that the fate of Kerala might become the fate of all of India. But, as we know, as a result of the activity of the Moral Re-Armament forces in the province, the various political factions were drawn together to present a common front, which won a victory over communism in the elections. Writing on this, the New York World Telegram and Sun, on Saturday, March 19, 1960, stated:

Kerala with Moral Re-Armament will root out communism from India.

This was a quote of one of the leaders of this province.

Under unanimous consent I include the entire article in the Record at this point.

MRA, KERALA CALLED ANSWER TO INDIAN REDS

TRIVANDRUM, SOUTH INDIA., March 19.—"Kerala with Moral Re-Armament will root out Communism from India."

This is the verdict of Mannath Padmanabhan, grand old man of the crucial south Indian state, Kerala, at the end of the first 10 days of the offensive there by the international Moral Re-Armament force.

Mr. Padmanabhan is the man who, as president of the liberation movement, led a statewide campaign to oust the earlier Communist government and is called the man most responsible for the recent election victory of the non-Communist front.

At the invitation of Mr. Padmanabhan and other state leaders, the Moral Re-Armament force of German mineworkers came to Kerala with the ideological drama "Hoffnung." In 6 nights 15,000 people crowded the university Convocation Hall, the largest theater in south India in Kerala's capital, Trivandrum.

The governor, chief minister of the new cabinet and thousands of university students, Marxist leaders and Catholic and Protestant dignitaries saw the play.

Kerala has the highest Christian percentage in India, yet it was the first to elect a Communist government. A Catholic priest said after studying the impact of MRA on the state, "This is the way to answer communism."

Kerala's need is twofold. One is to keep the non-Communist alliance united. The Communist strategy is to divide the different non-Communist leaders through personal ambitions.

The second great question in Kerala is, can non-Communists win over convinced Communists? Even though the Communists were beaten in the elections they increased their total poll by a million.

The popular dailies and weeklies of Kerala, India's most literate state, carried news of the MRA offensive on front pages. Even the Communist newspaper conceded that "Moral Re-Armament has now become very popular in Kerala."

Where is the wellspring for this movement, Mr. Speaker? The wellspring begins in the hearts of people. Once they have admitted to themselves that they are listening to their innermost thoughts, perhaps it is then time to go to one of the great Moral Re-Armament centers of the world to learn how to direct the drives of the heart. In America our center is at Mackinac Island in the Great Lakes, where the facilities include living quarters for over a thousand people, a great central meeting hall, a television production studio and theater. To this island have come thousands of people from all over the world of all races and all religious creeds, meeting and crystallizing their ideas toward the concept of the true brotherhood of man. Hates and fears of generations have been wiped away on Mackinac Island. People who have not spoken to each other for years have found a common meeting ground on this little island. Similar work is being conducted at Caux—pronounced Co—Switzerland. These are training centers in the war of ideas which equip men and women to live and to apply the great truths on which this country was founded.

One demonstration of the way this work is conducted is shown by a full-page advertisement which appeared in the Arkansas Gazette in Little Rock, Ark., on Thursday, August 13, 1959, at

the peak of the demonstrations involved in the segregation fight at Central High School:

A MAGNA CARTA FOR THIS MODERN GENERATION

(By Muriel Smith)

(This call to America was given at the Summit Strategy Conference for Moral Re-Armament at Mackinac Island, Mich., by this internationally known concert, stage, and opera star. Miss Smith stars in the forthcoming MRA film "The Crowning Experience." The film is inspired by the life of Mary McLeod Bethune, born of slave parents, who became adviser to U.S. Presidents, and who said of MRA, "to be a part of this great uniting force of our age is the crowning experience of my life." In the musical "The Crowning Experience," Miss Smith played in Atlanta, Ga., for 4 months last year. It later broke the 123-year attendance record of the National Theater in Washington, D.C. Miss Smith started her career as the original lead in "Carmen Jones." During her 5 years at London's famed Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, she gave a command performance for King George VI. Then in the Royal Opera House at Covent Garden, London, she played the name role in "Carmen" during 1956 and 1957.)

Born and raised with the race question in America, I have through my life and through my career tried to bring an answer to this problem. The results were ineffective and bordered on disaster. Then I met the force of Moral Re-Armament and discovered that the answer to that great wound in this Nation could begin in my heart and in my life. It meant I had to be honest about my past, clarify my motives, and unselfishly to strike out with no thought of personal gain or ambition with the love for the world that comes when we surrender our wills to be wholly committed to the power of God.

What can I do, I asked myself, to bring the answer to the American Negro? To the American people? How can I help to make a positive out of a situation which has turned into one of the least attractive aspects of democracy? Could the lessons of slavery be used to help men? We have given our Nation and the world the music of our spirituals out of that suffering. Is there something else we might give?

I thought of my days at the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia. I was a scholarship student. Occasionally I was able to earn extra money as a soloist with the chorus of Lincoln University. This is the university which helped to produce two men who have become leaders in their countries, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. It is one of the universities of America which means a great deal to me. Unless Lincoln and all other colleges are equipped with the right idea they will be taken over by the wrong one.

With all my heart I believe that Moral Re-Armament is the ideology we need desperately in America. I believe too, that we are 15 minutes into the hour God has given us to fight, that democracy becomes what it is meant to be—a system which enlists the total resources of everyone to remake the world.

There must be no hold back because of old patterns of bitterness and hatred which have caused so much division in our country. The ideology of communism grows on these weaknesses. The ideology of Moral Re-Armament teaches us how to heal them. When we allow our lives to be ruled by our passions, we become unwittingly the tools of men whose purpose is to control the world by any means. The end of this is slavery.

The historical past of my people and their emergence from the bonds of slavery are on the records of history as one of the great miracles of this age. We are equipped to

understand the meaning of slavery. We know what is the real meaning of victory through persecution.

I implore you in this hour of great urgency in the free world to accept this ideology of Moral Re-Armament and use it to cure the sickness of our Nation. Division can only reproduce the same conditions of slavery, but this time it will be on a global scale. Before we Americans are free to speak to the world we must be free to speak to our neighbors.

Why do we, through the unhealed hurts of the past, permit ourselves to be used to create again the same human dilemma when there is an answer? The issue is not color, it is character. The choice is communism or Moral Re-Armament.

When we rearm ourselves morally, we are free to fight to change human nature. It gives us that new character, that extra dimension of thought and action. It replaces the petty preoccupation of self with the dedicated purpose of living for a great idea.

The struggle of my people has been for full participation in the affairs of our Nation. This is the time to take the offensive with the ideology of Moral Re-Armament which alone can achieve that goal. We have been prepared by history for the supreme part in this our Nation's task in setting the whole world free.

(Moral Re-Armament is incorporated in the State of New York as a nonprofit corporation. It is supported by voluntary, unsolicited gifts. All its workers serve without salary. Checks made out to Moral Re-Armament are deductible for income tax purposes. If you wish more information write to: MRA, 640 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N.Y., or Cedar Point, Mackinac Island, Mich.)

(This page has been contributed as a national service by a group of patriotic citizens.)

The above also includes three other pictures with the following captions:

Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, receiving the keys to the City of Washington from the President of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia on the occasion of the presentation of "The Crowning Experience" in Washington. Gandhi states, "The choice for Asia today is Moral Re-Armament or communism. I have committed my life to Moral Re-Armament."

Gabriel Marcel, eminent French Catholic philosopher tells Mr. Camille Aillali, vice president of the Ivory Coast Legislative Assembly, "the Geneva Conference will either fail entirely or wind up in compromise or disillusionment. Moral Re-Armament alone shows us the way."

Germany's Chancellor Adenauer with Phra Bimaladharma, head of 200,000 Buddhist monks of Thailand. The Chancellor cabled Mackinac, "You know what great significance I attach to the ideological fight that Moral Re-Armament is waging in the whole world against communism."

Perhaps the power of this program can best be stated by quoting from Miss Muriel Smith, the great dramatic Negro actress, who stars in the forthcoming Moral Re-Armament film, recently shown privately in Washington entitled, "The Crowning Experience," when she said:

When we rearm ourselves morally, we are free to fight to change human nature. It gives us that new character, that extra dimension of thought and action. It replaces the petty preoccupation of self with the dedicated purpose of living for a great idea. The struggle of my people has been for full participation in the affairs of our Nation. This is the time to take the offensive with the ideology of Moral Re-Armament, which alone can achieve that goal. We have been prepared by history for the

supreme part in this our Nation's task in setting the whole world free.

I would like to challenge mankind to learn to know the power of Moral Re-Armament.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WOLF. I shall be happy to yield to the gentleman from Texas who I understand is going to speak about a subject very similar in nature.

Mr. POAGE. If the gentleman will yield to me I would like to discuss a matter involved in the legislation which the gentleman from Iowa introduced, as well as the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. WOLF. I am always happy to be on the same side with the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. I thank you.

Mr. Speaker, most of us have been in politics long enough to know that there will be different interpretations placed on our actions. We know that different individuals will honestly arrive at different conclusions. It is perfectly proper that there should be criticism of proposals which I make and which I think would be of outstanding benefit. Other citizens just as sincerely think that these proposals will be hurtful.

No one can complain about this kind of criticism. It is the way we determine the merits and demerits of pending legislation. Nor am I going to be completely upset when the chairman of the Republican National Committee accuses me, as he did last night in Lincoln, Nebr., of proposing a program to "make virtual serfs of farmers" or of presenting a "discredited blueprint for the regimentation of all agriculture."

I assume that he included the gentleman from Iowa as well as me in that statement.

Mr. WOLF. I am sure he did.

Mr. POAGE. These are more or less figures of speech and they only indicate to me that Mr. Morton recognizes in the pending Family Farm Income Act of 1960 a serious effort to deal with the ever-worsening problem of low farm income and ever-rising surplus stocks.

I do not for a minute charge that either Mr. Morton, or any other responsible Republican Member of Congress, doesn't want a solution to the farm problem. He simply wants it to be a Republican solution. And he is alarmed to find that there is real and widespread sentiment supporting the basic idea that we should establish some guidelines here in Congress which would require the actual balancing of supply with demand, the elimination of further buildup of surpluses in the hands of the Government and the reduction of Government expenditures on the agricultural program, and that we should then let the producers of each commodity work out their own programs within these guidelines.

But, Mr. Speaker, it is an entirely different thing when a newspaper and/or a farm publication circulates an alleged statement of the contents of a bill which involves direct and categorical false statements.

I would not be particularly concerned with the truth or falsity of anything

that appears in the Chicago Tribune. I do not know of many people who rely on that publication for any factual information. The Tribune's reputation for bias and irresponsibility is too well known. Last week the Tribune said:

But just let anybody try to claw his way loose from the straitjacket and the commissar comes down on him like a ton of bricks. For exceeding quota or allotment, the producers "shall forfeit to the United States a sum equal to three times the current market value of such excess." For violators of any order under the Poage bill, the fine is to run from \$50 to \$500 for each violation and for each day it is continued.

These are indeed wonderful ways to fight collectivization and to promote free enterprise. They couldn't be improved upon if they were invented in Russia.

This statement just happens to be completely false, and I am not talking about any false implication or interpretation. I am talking about the phrases which are in quotation marks and which are said to be taken from my bill. They are just not in the "Family Farm Income Act of 1960," either as I introduced it or as any of the other two dozen authors introduced it.

Mr. WOLF. Including me.

Mr. POAGE. Including the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Wolf], but the language quoted is not in the gentleman's bill. It just is not there. Nothing like it is there, but I am not particularly concerned by anything printed in the Chicago Tribune.

I am concerned when the American Farm Bureau Federation official Newsletter picked up this irresponsible scandal and published it on the front page of the issue of March 28, 1960. I was concerned, Mr. Speaker, both because of the false statements which attacked me as a Congressman and because of the fact that as a longtime member of the Farm Bureau, I may have been an unwitting party to this "blow below the belt."

I wonder, Mr. Speaker, if it would be appropriate for me, as a member of the Farm Bureau, to here and now apologize to me as the author of this bill. If it is, Mr. Speaker, I hereby offer my apology. Our statements—that is, the statements of us Farm Bureau members in our official publication—are false and we are sorry we made them.

As a Congressman I invite the officials of my farm organization to publish in the Chicago Tribune, Farm Bureau official newsletter, and in a letter to me which I may insert in the Record, the page and the line in the Poage bill—H.R. 10355—where the words occur which were quoted in the above-mentioned article as having been lifted from the Poage bill.

If Mr. Donnelly, the editor of this Farm Bureau paper, or some other responsible official of the organization, will go over the bill, page by page, and line by line, and simply show me on what page and in what line this language occurs, I will reverse my apology and put it in the Record. The statement to which I refer is published in quotation marks as if lifted directly from the bill. The truth of the matter, Mr. Speaker, is that neither the Poage bill, or any other family farm income bill now pending in

the Congress, establishes any quotas or allotments and they do not contain any criminal penalties of any kind nor do they provide for any forfeitures.

Somebody has had a bad dream, Mr. Speaker. Somebody has built up a strawman against which they are carrying on a heroic fight. I do not object to this attack on windmills but I do not like for them to misrepresent me in order to make their attack look good.

No wonder the Farm Bureau's newsletter and the Chicago Tribune have only added to confusion in regard to the farm problem. Obviously, one who cannot, by reading, obtain a clear understanding of legislation or make a more objective report on what legislation contains, can hardly be expected to give the members back home a very clear picture of what is going on in Washington. So, again, Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Farm Bureau, I apologize for what my organization's paper has printed and I assure you that many of my fellow members back home, on the farms and in the local bureaus, will be interested in trying to get leadership in Washington and Chicago which can and will give a more factual and unbiased review of what efforts are being made by the Congress in behalf of the farm people throughout the Nation.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. POAGE. I yield to the gentleman from South Dakota.

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. Speaker, I want to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Texas. I noticed in the press this morning that the administration has announced compensatory payments to cranberry growers of about \$10 million. Last night, in Mr. MORRIS's speech in the State of Iowa, he seemed to single out compensatory payments as a special object of his ire, and he referred to it as putting the farmers in chains. I am wondering if the gentleman knows of any special virtue that cranberries might have that entitles that crop to compensatory payments but denies it to everything else.

Mr. POAGE. No, I do not. Since I do not know that cranberries are grown in the State of Utah, I am surprised that the administration decided that compensatory payments were good for them. I do know that two of the major crops in the State of Utah are sugar beets and wool, and I do know that for years we have had compensatory payments for sugar beets and wool and that they have been highly successful and have been looked upon as right respectable programs in the State of Utah.

Mr. McGOVERN. May I also ask the gentleman to comment on Mr. MORRIS's contention that we are putting farmers in chains under a program that is entirely voluntary. As the gentleman knows our bill provides machinery whereby the producers of any given commodity that participate in this program would first have to engage in a nationwide referendum and endorse it by a two-thirds majority. Does the gentleman think that there is any regimentation in a program based on two-thirds majority rule?

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Mr. POAGE. Of course, I do not think there is any regimentation to it at all. But, as I pointed out earlier in my discussion, I am willing to let people adopt different interpretations and come to different conclusions. But, I am talking about just plain lifting words, putting them in quotation marks, and saying they came from a place when they did not come from that place. I am not talking about any misinterpretation; I am talking about plain, outright, misrepresentation. That is what I am talking about.

Mr. McGOVERN. I wholeheartedly endorse what the gentleman is saying. If the administration would show as much concern about other farmers as it does for the cranberry grower, we would have a much better agricultural economy today.

Mr. POAGE. And yet the publication of a great farm organization and a well known scandal sheet in one of our great cities makes the positive statement—not implication, but the positive statement and quotes the words which they say they lifted from the Poage bill.

Mr. WOLF. I thank the gentleman for his helpful contribution on the question of the farm problem.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. HARMON (at the request of Mr. ALBERT), on account of death in his family.

SPECIAL ORDER GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to Mr. WOLF, for 1 hour and 20 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to extend remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, or to revise and extend remarks, was granted to:

Mr. PASSMAN and to include articles.

Mr. LEVERING and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. SAYLOR.

(At the request of Mr. BREWSTER, and to include extraneous matter, the following:)

Mr. MULTER in two instances.

Mr. COLMER.

SENATE ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to an enrolled joint resolution of the Senate of the following title:

S. J. Res. 128. Joint resolution to establish a commission to formulate plans for a memorial to James Madison.

BILLS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on March 30, 1960, present to the President, for his ap-

proval, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 24. An act to provide that certain real property of the United States situated in the State of Nevada shall be held in trust for members of the Fort McDermitt Paiute and Shoshone Tribe of Indians of the Fort McDermitt Indian Reservation, Nev.;

H.R. 1540. An act for the relief of the estate of John Steve;

H.R. 2164. An act to reduce the cabaret tax from 20 percent to 10 percent;

H.R. 2740. An act to amend section 2734 of title 10, United States Code, to extend the statute of limitations in the case of certain foreign claims;

H.R. 2849. An act for the relief of Oscar A. LaBranche;

H.R. 4483. An act to amend the act of December 24, 1942 (56 Stat. 1086, 43 U.S.C. 36b), entitled "An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to acquire lands or interest in lands for the Geological Survey";

H.R. 4586. An act to amend section 4021 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954;

H.R. 5270. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to convey to the Metropolitan Water District of Salt Lake City, Utah, all right, title, and interest of the United States in certain lands located in Salt Lake County, Utah;

H.R. 5301. An act for the relief of Harry E. Nelson;

H.R. 5387. An act to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to place ground, powdered, or granulated seaweeds on the free list;

H.R. 6023. An act for the relief of William J. Kalser;

H.R. 6027. An act for the relief of Joseph J. O'Loughlin;

H.R. 6132. An act relating to the rate of tax on the issuance of shares or certificates of stock by regulated investment companies;

H.R. 6136. An act to authorize the sale of certain tribal land of the Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians, Wisconsin;

H.R. 6402. An act for the relief of Victor Stiglic;

H.R. 6516. An act to approve a contract with the Conejos Water Conservancy District, Colorado, to ratify its execution, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6885. An act for the relief of Neal E. Andersen;

H.R. 6948. An act for the relief of Miss Marion A. Cramer;

H.R. 7037. An act for the relief of Carl J. Fisher, captain, U.S. Army, retired;

H.R. 7079. An act for the relief of Don L. Herring;

H.R. 7116. An act for the relief of George W. Gibson;

H.R. 7365. An act for the relief of Mrs. Nell C. Player;

H.R. 7447. An act for the relief of Paul Levitt;

H.R. 7636. An act for the relief of Mrs. Viola H. Rooks;

H.R. 7889. An act to require marketing quotas for rice when the total supply exceeds the normal supply;

H.R. 7933. An act for the relief of Mrs. Virginia Bond;

H.R. 8106. An act to provide for the relief of certain members and former members of the Department of the Navy for the expenses of temporary storage of household effects;

H.R. 8318. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to exempt bicycle tires and tubes used in the manufacture or production of new bicycles from the manufacturers excise tax on tires and tubes;

H.R. 8801. An act for the relief of the Maco Warehouse Co.; and

H.R. 9599. An act to provide transportation on Canadian vessels between ports in southeastern Alaska, and between Hyder, Alaska, and other points in southeastern Alaska, and between Hyder, Alaska, and other points in

the United States outside Alaska, either directly or via a foreign port, or for any part of the transportation.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 12 o'clock and 55 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, April 4, 1960, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

2004. A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, transmitting a report on the audit of the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone Government for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1959 (H. Doc. No. 366); to the Committee on Government Operations and ordered to be printed.

2005. A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting a report by the Department of Commerce relating to a study of the effect of the increases in postage rates of third-class bulk mail matter, pursuant to Public Law 85-426; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

2006. A letter from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, relative to reporting that the appropriation to the Department of Justice for "Support of U.S. prisoners," for the fiscal year 1960, has been reapportioned on a basis which indicates the necessity for a supplemental estimate of appropriation, pursuant to section 3679 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (31 U.S.C. 665); to the Committee on Appropriations.

2007. A letter from the President, Export-Import Bank of Washington, transmitting the report of the Export-Import Bank of Washington covering the period July to December 1959, pursuant to section 9 of the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945, as amended; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

2008. A letter from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill to amend the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, as amended, to make benefits more realistic in terms of present wage rates, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

2009. A letter from the Administrator, General Services Administration, transmitting the report of the Archivist of the United States on records proposed for disposal under the law; to the Committee on House Administration.

2010. A letter from the Secretary of the Army, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation entitled "A bill for the relief of Ndue F. Zefi"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HENDERSON: Committee on the Judiciary. S. 634. An act for the relief of Grace C. Ream; without amendment (Rept. No. 1442). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. TOLL: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 1725. A bill for the relief of Martin Pysz; with amendment (Rept. No. 1443). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LANE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 3107. A bill for the relief of Richard L. Nuth; without amendment (Rept. No. 1444). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LANE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 8806. A bill for the relief of the Philadelphia General Hospital; with amendment (Rept. No. 1445). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LANE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 9106. A bill for the relief of John E. Simpson; without amendment (Rept. No. 1446). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LANE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 9226. A bill for the relief of Pietro Mela; without amendment (Rept. No. 1447). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LANE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 9249. A bill for the relief of Marlene A. Grant; with amendment (Rept. No. 1448). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LANE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 9470. A bill for the relief of E. W. Cornett, Sr., and E. W. Cornett, Jr.; with amendment (Rept. No. 1449). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. KASEM: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 10230. A bill for the relief of Louis J. Rosenstein; with amendment (Rept. No. 1450). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. LANE: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 10947. A bill for the relief of Aladar Szozoslay; without amendment (Rept. No. 1451). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CAHILL:

H.R. 11489. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, so as to strengthen and improve the national transportation system, insure the protection of the public interest, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 11490. A bill to readjust postal rates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CEDERBERG:

H.R. 11491. A bill to provide a different basis for determining the amount of money to be made available to the State of Michigan because of the location of national forest lands within such State, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 11492. A bill to prohibit the use of Federal funds to further any policy of discrimination; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN:

H.R. 11493. A bill to amend the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, as amended, to make benefits more realistic in terms of present wage rates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. GILBERT:

H.R. 11494. A bill to provide an allowance for work clothing for certain postal field service employees; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. GOODELL:

H.R. 11495. A bill to amend the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, as amended, to make benefits more realistic in terms of

present wage rates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. HALEY:

H.R. 11496. A bill to require the Secretary of the Interior to issue new or supplemental patents in certain cases where lands have been classified as nonphosphate in character; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. HALPERN:

H.R. 11497. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase benefit amounts, provide disability insurance benefits without regard to age, to provide full retirement benefits for men at age 62 and women at age 60, to increase the limitation on the amount of outside earnings permitted from \$1,200 to \$2,500, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HENDERSON:

H.R. 11498. A bill to readjust third-class postal rates, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. MCCORMACK:

H.R. 11499. A bill to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, so as to authorize the use of surplus personal property by State distribution agencies, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 11500. A bill to provide for flood control activities in the Chicopee River Basin; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROBERTS:

H.R. 11501. A bill to authorize grants to assist the States in strengthening professional nurse education, in order to relieve the shortage of well-trained professional nurses and to meet the requirements of Federal, State, and local government hospitals and health agencies, as well as of nongovernmental hospitals and other employers; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. WOLF:

H.R. 11502. A bill to provide for advance consultation with the Fish and Wildlife Service and with State wildlife agencies before the beginning of any Federal program involving the use of pesticides or other chemicals designed for mass biological controls; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By Mr. FORAND: Memorial of the Rhode Island General Assembly memorializing the Congress of the United States with respect to raising the allowable income for persons receiving less than the maximum amount under the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of Maryland, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States urging the U.S. Army Engineers to participate in the creation of an inland waterway between the Delaware Bay and the Chesapeake Bay; to the Committee on Public Works.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States with respect to raising the allowable income for persons receiving less than the maximum amount under the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mrs. KELLY introduced a bill (H.R. 11503) for the relief of Rosolino Profeta, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.